Chicago Recreation Survey

VOLUME II

Commercial Recreation

1937

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CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY

VOLUME II

COMMERCIAL RECREATION

THE CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY 1937

VOLUME II — COMMERCIAL RECREATION

A project sponsored jointly by the
CHICAGO RECREATION COMMISSION
and
NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

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Conducted under auspices
of the
WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION
NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION
ILLINOIS EMERGENCY RELIEF COMMISSION

CHICAGO
1938

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PREFACE

This volume contains the second element in the recreational triad as envisioned in the objectives of this Survey. Volume I presented the picture of public recreation in Chicago. The third volume, soon to be published, will cover such forms of private recreation as are offered by churches, clubs, settlement houses and community centers. This present volume has to do with the largest phase of the whole recreational field; for at least in so far as extent of operations, amount of patronage and income received are concerned, commercial recreation tops all the other categories.

Space forbade including considerable detailed matter on legislation, the early history of different forms of commercial amusement, and details of operation, (for example, on such subjects as race tracks and grand opera); good sized monographs could be written on each of these topics. If the Chicago Recreation Commission is able to carry out a policy of "continuing inventory" of recreation facts and situations in Chicago, these materials might be issued as supplementary bulletins. The conclusions and recommendations derived from the factual material of this volume will appear together with similar recommendations as to public and private recreational policy in Volume V of this series.

The field work, composition and editing of this volume have been achieved, with one or two exceptions, by the same staff which produced the initial volume of this survey. Acknowledgements are due for the continued co-operation and sponsorage of the Works Progress Administration, the National Youth Administration, the Chicago Recreation Commission and Northwestern University. We were fortunate in being able to secure from the Juvenile Protective Association and from the Director of the Committee of Fifteen expertly prepared statements on the problems presented by the tavern and commercialized vice in Chicago. The co-operation of the five leading newspapers of Chicago has been of great value. Certain governmental agencies have been particularly co-operative in providing information, notably the City Clerk's Office, Moving Picture Censor Board of the Chicago Police Department, Municipal Reference Library, Federal Writer's Project, Federal Theater Project, Federal Music Project, Federal Communications Commission, Illinois Athletic Commission, and the Illinois Racing Commission.

It would be quite impossible to list here the scores of individuals and organizations whose help has been vital to this project by way of information and counsel. The record of their services has been gratefully entered in our golden book of remembrance, but it constantly appears between the lines of this volume.

Arthur J. Todd

March 18, 1938

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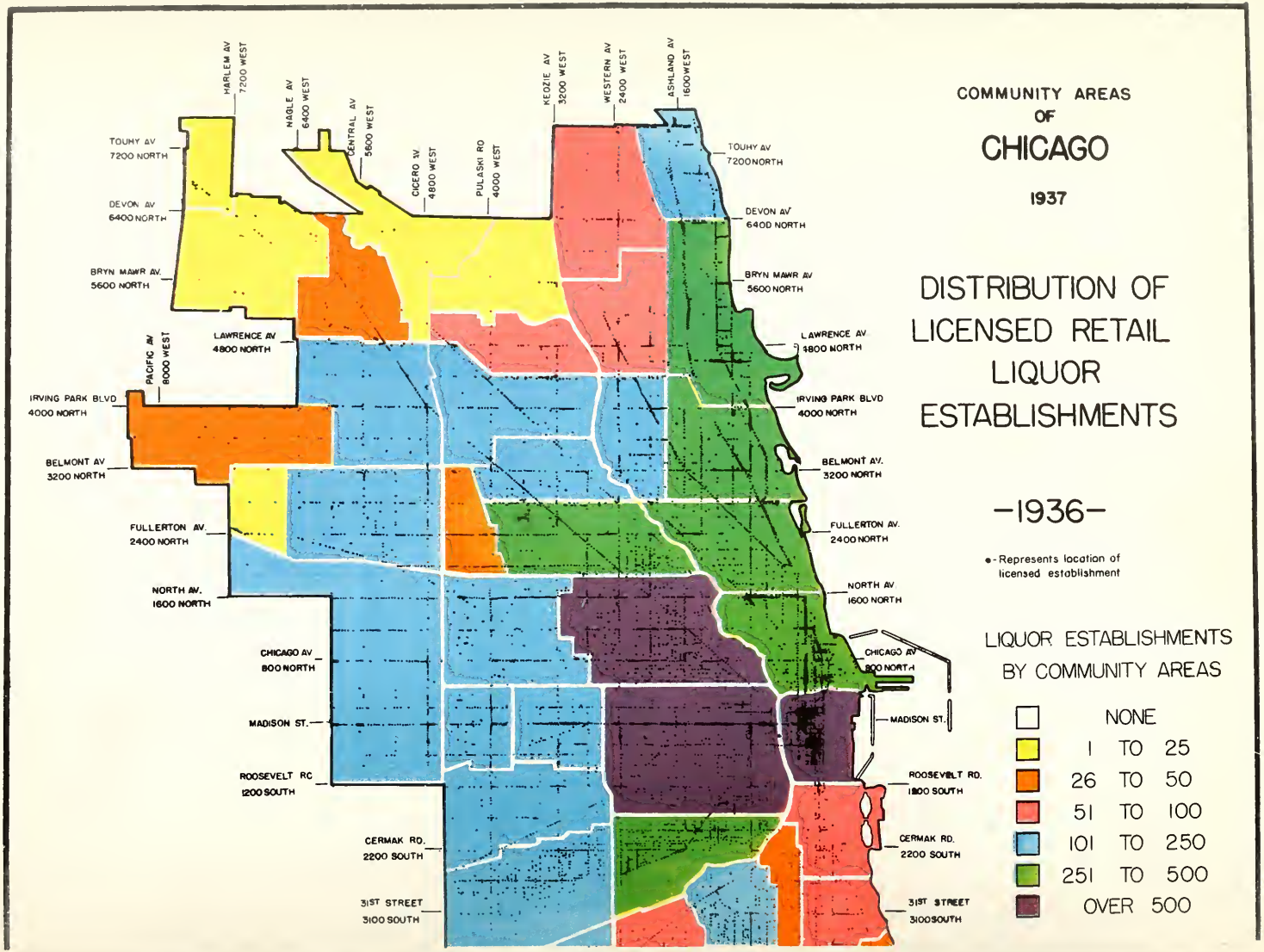
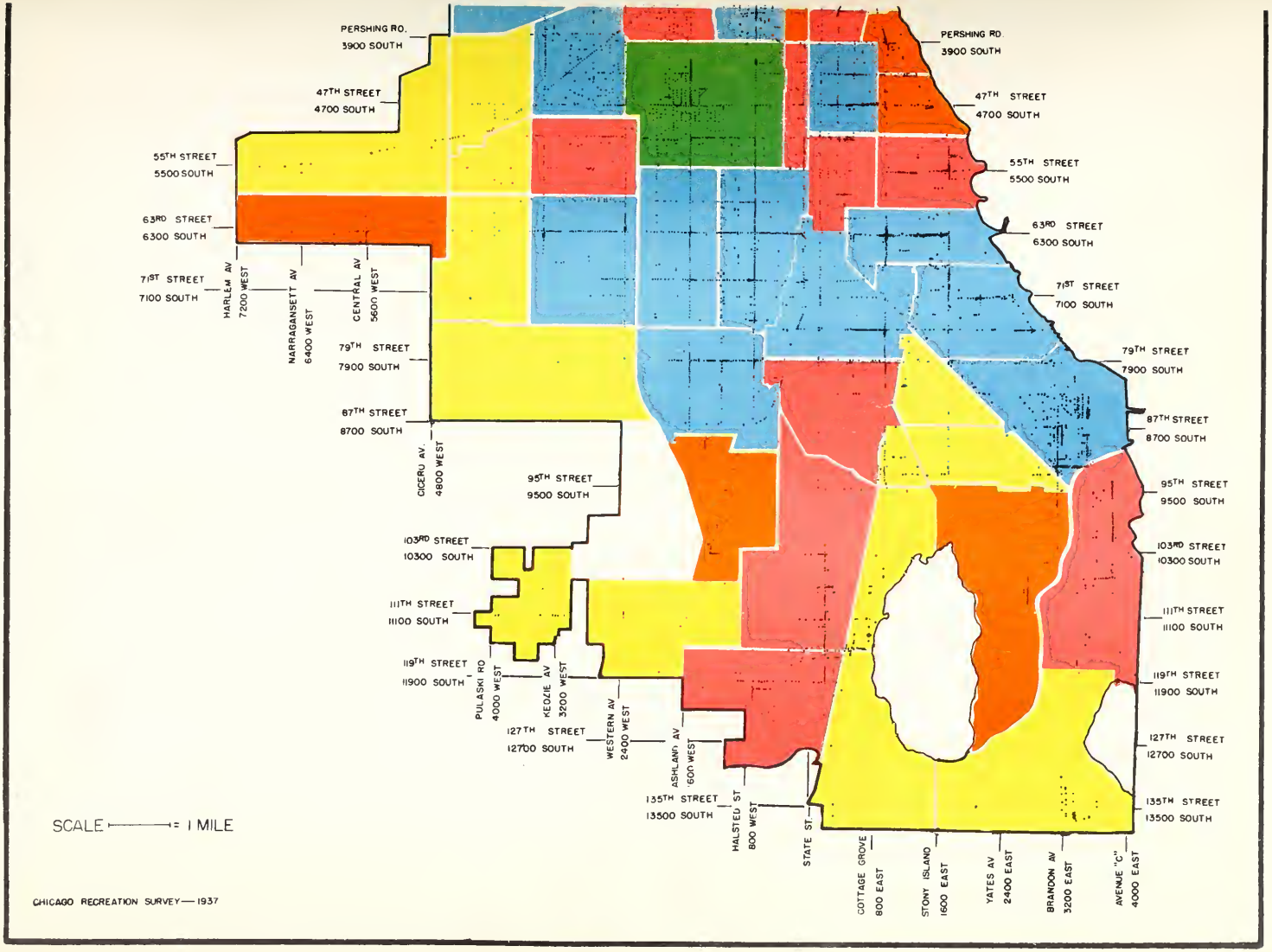

COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
DISTRIBUTION OF
LICENSED RETAIL
LIQUOR
ESTABLISHMENTS
-1936-
●-Represents location of licensed establishment
LIQUOR ESTABLISHMENTS
BY COMMUNITY AREAS
NONE
1 TO 25
26 TO 50
51 TO 100
101 TO 250
251 TO 500
OVER 500
HARLEM AV 7200 WEST
NAGLE AV 6400 WEST
CENTRAL AV 5600 WEST
CICERO AV 4800 WEST
PULASKI RD 4000 WEST
KEDZIE AV 3200 WEST
WESTERN AV 2400 WEST
ASHLAND AV 1600 WEST
TOUHY AV 7200 NORTH
DEVON AV 6400 NORTH
BRYN MAWR AV 5600 NORTH
LAWRENCE AV 4800 NORTH
PACIFIC AV 8000 WEST
IRVING PARK BLVD 4000 NORTH
BELMONT AV 3200 NORTH
FULLERTON AV 2400 NORTH
NORTH AV 1600 NORTH
CHICAGO AV 800 NORTH
MADISON ST.
ROOSEVELT RD 1200 SOUTH
CERMAK RD. 2200 SOUTH
31ST STREET 3100 SOUTH


PERSHING RD.
3900 SOUTH
47TH STREET
4700 SOUTH
55TH STREET
5500 SOUTH
63RD STREET
6300 SOUTH
71ST STREET
7100 SOUTH
79TH STREET
7900 SOUTH
87TH STREET
8700 SOUTH
95TH STREET
9500 SOUTH
103RD STREET
10300 SOUTH
111TH STREET
11100 SOUTH
119TH STREET
11900 SOUTH
127TH STREET
12700 SOUTH
135TH STREET
13500 SOUTH
HARLEM AV
7200 WEST
NARRAGANSETT AV
6400 WEST
CENTRAL AV
5600 WEST
CICERO AV.
4800 WEST
PULASKI RD
4000 WEST
KEDZIE AV
3200 WEST
WESTERN AV
2400 WEST
ASHLAND AV
600 WEST
HALSTED ST
800 WEST
STATE ST
COTTAGE GROVE
800 EAST
STONY ISLAND
1600 EAST
YATES AV
2400 EAST
BRANDON AV
3200 EAST
AVENUE "O"
4000 EAST
SCALE ⟵⟶ = 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY — 1937

CHAPTER I

THE SCOPE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF COMMERCIAL RECREATION

Reduced to its very simplest terms, commercial recreation may be considered as more or less highly organized amusement enterprises engaged in primarily for profit making. If amusements be considered too narrow a term, there is no objection to broadening it into the word recreation. The essential point is that the providing of such recreation is to be considered as a business organized and managed by private individuals or groups which capitalizes the leisure time of its patrons through their response to opportunities to enjoy amusements or recreation in return for the payment of admission fees. With certain notable exceptions, commercial recreation parallels public recreation in so far as its wide range of forms of recreation, sport, and amusement is concerned. Almost every known form of sport may be found somewhere or other in both public and commercial recreation programs. The difference between the two, therefore, is not primarily in the nature of the recreation provided, but in the motive, and likewise the method of financing, management and control.

The facts for reconstructing fully the history and development of commercial recreation are lacking; but from all the evidence available it is safe to say that some form of commercial recreation has existed whenever and wherever there was a practical medium of exchange. In a very real sense, therefore, commercial recreation accompanies and grows along with a money economy. Hence it is not surprising that within recent times commercial recreation has taken on the character of "Big Business." Indeed, in America it is an enormous business quite commensurate with the sweep of the country, the enormous volume of the national income and the massive structure of American business and commercial enterprises.

Professor Seligman alludes to commercial recreation in the great *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*:[1]

"Commercial recreation owes its rise to the *laissez-faire* system of the nineteenth century, which in England and the United States, apart from sporadic philanthropic efforts, failed to make necessary provision for the increased leisure of large sections of the population. The consequent assumption by private and commercial interests of the provision of recreation for financial profit rapidly developed into a large-scale business enterprise, which at the present time represents millions of dollars in investment and in annual receipts."

In view of the facts, Professor Seligman's analysis of the rise of commercial recreation is sound enough, but his picture of the present magnitude of this form of business enterprise is conservative and even colorless.

For the United States as a whole, recreation in its various forms represents one of our biggest channels of expenditure. Stuart Chase has estimated it at about twenty billions per year. Dr. Jesse F. Steiner is much more conservative and arrives at a figure of somewhat over ten billion dollars for the annual cost at the end of the last decade.[2] Probably in normal times ten billion dollars per year would represent a fairly safe and justifiable estimate of the annual outlay on recreation in America. Thus, somewhere between one-fifth and one-seventh of the nation's total annual income is paid for various forms of play. Of this total, between three and four billions may be set down to the account of commercial amusements. It is not easy to segregate the distinctively commercial elements in such forms of recreation as vacation travel by automobile, railroad, air or water, whether in the United States or abroad; nor is it much easier to analyze the distinctively commercial items in the pleasure use of automo-

[1] Vol. 13, p. 177.
[2] *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, p. 949.

biles, motor buses, motorcycles, bicycles, etc. It is difficult also to know precisely how to uncover through an accounting system the commercial recreation involved in the manufacturing and sale of various kinds of amusement devices ranging all the way from toys, games, playing cards or athletic equipment to fireworks, phonographs or electric organs. But if we take the approximate figure of two and a quarter billions for such easily identified commercial amusements as moving pictures, legitimate theaters, cabarets and night clubs, radio broadcasting, college football, resort hotels, commercial camps, baseball, prize fights, professional football, golf and liquor, and add to them a conservative estimate of the commercial element in the other forms of amusement, we can easily account for roughly one-half the total annual national expenditure for recreation.

From Volume I of this Survey it may be gathered that the total cost of public provision for recreation in Chicago in 1936 reached the considerable figure of just over thirty million dollars. At the time this probably seemed a very considerable burden upon the pocket-book of the average citizen. This impression may have been even stronger after discovering that the federal government spent almost three hundred million on recreation projects in 1936. If, however, the national figures published by Dr. Steiner are a guide, the governmental expenditures for recreation including federal, state, county and municipal, are scarcely more than five per cent of what goes out year by year for commercial amusements. From the standpoint, therefore, of presenting in proper perspective the various items in recreational activity and expenditure, the factor of commercial recreation must be placed well out in the front of all the rest. It is true that travel and mobility account for two-thirds of the total national recreational expenditure; but as we have already indicated, a very considerable proportion of this item must be considered as commercial. Unfortunately taxing authorities have never segregated assessed valuation of urban commercial property devoted to amusements; but expenditures offer a hint, admittedly crude and tentative, of the total investment in commercial recreation enterprises. Accepting these limitations we hazard the estimate that for the city of Chicago alone the total investment in various forms of commercialized recreation for which fairly specific information is available is somewhere between seven hundred million and one billion dollars. The total annual expenditure which Chicagoans make for these forms of commercialized amusements can scarcely be less than approximately two hundred and fifty million dollars, or roughly eighty dollars per capita. This tallies closely with the figure of eighty-five dollars for the nation as a whole.

In making these rough estimates the official figures of the 1935 United States Census of Business have not been disregarded. But they are obviously limited, for they do not include more than a fraction of the scores of diverse commercial amusements, and they omit entirely such major items as the radio and the pleasure automobile. Moreover proprietors of amusement enterprises are none too disposed to reveal the full measure of their business, since government always looks with hungry eyes upon amusements as objects for taxation. Play, to the fiscal side of government, is still a luxury; therefore an easy mark for the revenue hunter.

At this point it is essential that some explicit statement be made as to what this survey proposes to include in the general category of commercial recreation, also what is excluded from it, and why. The typical recognized sports ranging all the way from pleasure automobiling, baseball, basketball, billiards, bowling, boxing, circuses, dancing, football, wrestling, horse racing, to motion picture and legitimate theaters and music are included. Clubs as such are not included, except in so far as they actually sponsor athletics or sports activities for which they assume responsibility and charge admission fees. Hunters' license fees are not included because hunting is a private recreational activity like yachting or pleasure motoring, a sport which requires a license directly from a public authority. Such a private activity does not require the intervention of a third party who makes a profit on the deal. The tavern or saloon or liquor establishment under whatever name, is included; but it must be frankly said that in this survey little beyond the quantitative aspects of the tavern are covered. Undoubtedly, it would be desirable to secure a qualitative judgment as to the precise kind of

recreation which the tavern is offering, whether this recreation service is a liability or an asset, whether tavern proprietors are obeying the law, whether the taverns are a source of political corruption, and to answer many other questions. But with the personnel possible under the regulations of the Works Progress Administration and National Youth Administration it has not been found possible to go deeply into these delicate questions at this time.

The same may be said of gambling and betting. Certain forms of recreation are on the border-line between what is socially countenanced, however grudgingly, and what is positively illegal. If such commonly known forms of recreation as gambling and betting are accorded minor attention in this survey, it is not through unawareness of their existence, but through deliberate exclusion for good and sufficient reasons. These reasons apply with even greater force to the question of commercialized vice including prostitution and narcotics. These forms of quasi-recreation go over the border-line into the domain of the illegal, and are primarily a subject for police investigation and control. To secure adequate data regarding them would require a large expenditure of money and a highly specialized staff. These items will not be entirely omitted from consideration in the body of this report, but it is obvious that they cannot be featured in this type of survey. Whatever figures are given as to volume of business, investment and the like, must be regarded as subject to cautious use. Only as social security data and income tax returns are more abundantly available can the veil be lifted from these types of quasi-criminal forms of recreational activity. To attempt to include these forms of amusement and to speak as with finality about them would simply provoke endless controversy, and would tend to cast doubt upon facts and findings from those well recognized recreational fields which lend themselves more readily to research.

The questionnaires sometimes circulated to discover individual leisure-time choices of recreational activity are not of definitive significance or help on this point. The numbers they reach are so limited: for example, the study made by the National Recreation Association in 1934, issued as *The Leisure Hours of 5,000 People*, covered only 5,002 men and women. These figures pale beside such facts as that between ten and fifteen million Americans enter motion picture theaters every day, or that over two million play pool every day. Moreover, such returns, apart from the manifest subjective errors inseparable from this method of gathering facts, and disregarding the obvious discrepancy between what people like and what they actually do, combine indiscriminately distinctly home interests, non-recreational activities, public recreation and commercialized amusement. This appears from the aforementioned questionnaire which elicited the following ten "most frequent diversions":

"(1) reading newspapers and magazines; (2) listening to the radio; (3) attending the movies; (4) visiting or entertaining others; (5) reading books—fiction; (6) motoring; (7) swimming; (8) writing letters; (9) reading books—non-fiction; (10) conversation."

Therefore the investigator must resort to other sources of objective information such as income, admissions, invested capital, licenses, and sales of merchandise. From such data a somewhat clearer, though by no means perfect picture may be obtained. What is the picture? It appears, then, that with due regard for fact, it may be said that commercial recreation is America's largest industry. Moreover the further broad generalization may be made that commercial recreation absorbs about one-fifth of our total fund of leisure time.

How is this leisure distributed? That is, what forms of commercial amusement are most in vogue?

Undoubtedly movies, radio, and automobiles head the list. For the United States as a whole, with 37,677 enterprises reporting (to the Business Census of 1935) total receipts of approximately $700,000,000, nearly three-quarters of that total were the share of moving picture theaters of one type or another. Billiards and bowling alleys ranked next highest in the list, but reaped only about six per cent of the total. Horse and dog racing stood a poor third, but there is every reason to believe that gate receipts are a very inadequate index of the relative importance of these sports. The same observation would hold to a lesser degree of baseball and foot-

ball which place fourth on the list with receipts of a little over $25,000,000 in 1935, scarcely four per cent of the total. So-called legitimate theater and opera drop almost below the horizon by comparison with the cinema, for they dip scarcely three per cent out of the total receipts, or about four per cent of the lion's share received by movies.

These figures compare fairly closely with those collected in 1933 for the Census of American Business. Motion picture theaters (including those combined with more or less of vaudeville) took in the preponderant share of receipts, about four-fifths of the total. Legitimate stage and opera trailed with less than two per cent; billiards and bowling comprised six per cent; dance halls two per cent; skating rinks and all the other types of amusement lumped together succeeded in gathering only twelve per cent of the total.

But, as already pointed out these figures are manifestly inadequate, by reason of omission and perhaps also commission. The single example of radio will make this clear. During 1937 America's broadcasting bill mounted to well within sight of a "cool" billion dollars. Former radio commissioner, Dr. O. E. Caldwell, now editor of *Radio Today* estimates that $450,000,000 of this total went for 7,700,000 new radios. Another $150,000,000 was spent for electricity to operate receivers and transmitters, and an almost equal amount for repairs, services, and parts replacement. The various broadcasting stations, seven hundred and one of them to be exact, took in $125,000,000 for sale of airtime, and $40,000,000 dropped into the pockets of so-called "talent." However we may rate the advertising or entertainment or educational value of radio, no one can deny that as commercial recreation it ranks along side of moving pictures as America's choice at present. *Fortune* magazine recently found that nearly nine-tenths of all American homes have radios. Nearly twenty per cent of all the men and women canvassed preferred radio above all other forms of recreation; movies came a close second, while reading newspapers placed only sixth. Other more or less typical studies have shown recently that while about eighty-five per cent of urban families own radios, only seventy-eight per cent of small town families, and only fifty-six per cent of farm families have acquired them.

A further gleam of light is thrown upon the relative rating of various commercial amusements in present-day American mores by income tax records. In a typical depression year, 1933 (as reported by the federal government in 1936) out of a total gross income of $213,286,000 reported by 1,443 amusement concerns, $159,032,000 may be set down to motion picture theaters, or $186,208,000 if you include the motion picture producers' income also; that is, eighty-seven per cent of the total is absorbed by the movie industry. So-called legitimate theaters accounted for less than three per cent of the total gross income and reported actually less than half a million dollars net income for the year. Such "other amusements" as circuses, golf links and race tracks were credited with only ten per cent of the total.

Perhaps it may be well to add a word on the employment aspect of these nationally recorded amusements. Out of a total of 87,372 full-time employees reported for 1933, motion picture theaters, either straight or combined with vaudeville, utilized about seventy per cent (61,954); all other theatrical enterprises, including opera, less than two per cent; billiards and bowling, approximately ten per cent (9,016); dance halls, three per cent; all other amusements reporting, approximately fourteen per cent.

There is no evidence that Chicago varies in any significant degree from the national pattern in these particulars. Yet for want of precise local figures such important items as radio must be omitted from highly detailed consideration in this Volume. If, when, and as America comes to the point of licensing radios as the British do, it will be possible to compare radio patronage with other forms of licensed commercial recreation. Lacking those figures the best possible estimate one can make of what Chicagoans spend annually for radio would range somewhere between thirty-five and forty million dollars.

Such inadequate figures as are available from United States census sources indicate that for Chicago straight motion picture theaters take in about one-third of the total annual receipts of amusement establishments reporting. All other the-

atrical enterprises, including movie houses with vaudeville shows, received approximately a quarter of the total. Billiards and bowling, popular as they are, could get only five per cent of the "total gate." Dance halls managed to squeeze out less than two per cent; while all other amusements including, for that particular year, 1933, the Century of Progress, just about equalled the share of the movies.

Just as in nearly every other area of human interest, there are times and tides in commercial recreation. Shifts in taste, fads and crazes, as well as general business conditions, account for changes in the relative drawing power of various amusements. New inventions like the cinema or radio, or new enterprises like professional football, cut into the older traditional diversions. In the near future purveyors of both public and commercial recreation must be prepared for the inevitable shifts induced by such developments as commercial television and the increasing proportion of elders in our population. Commercial recreation suffered as any other business enterprise in the recent depression. The same dire need which forced larger public provision for recreational needs sheared off the profits of most amusement proprietors and threw some into bankruptcy. Theaters were severely hit. Even motion pictures suffered. Opera languished. Declining football revenues disappointed many colleges which had gone heavily into debt for stadia. Hotels, not by any means the least important of commercial recreation centers, were notoriously frostbitten by the drop in business temper. Many minor amusements hobbled uncertainly or became completely paralyzed during those lean years. Thousands of workers in these fields were added to the ranks of the unemployed.

Again, Chicago was no exception to this general nation-wide situation. Study of the licensing of amusement enterprises in Chicago brings to clear light these shifts and variations. In 1936 there were just about half as many licensed amusements as in the peak years of 1919, 1921 and 1922. The recession began in 1923, but the most marked decline set in after 1930. Billiard halls conform strikingly to this pattern of decline, for of the 1,028 operating in 1929 scarcely more than half survived by 1936. Bowling alleys fared somewhat better, nevertheless dropped about one-third from 1929 to 1935. Shooting galleries were cut in half from 1930 to 1935. Some of these enterprises have shown signs of expansion and relative vigor since the end of 1935. Some, such as dancing schools, showed marked increase since 1932 and by 1936 were back to the levels of 1923. To be sure it must be recognized that police activity and other factors have had their effect along with financial depression in all these situations. The net result, however, of industrial and commercial stringency was to force considerable shrinkage of commercial amusements and to throw upon public and private agencies a correspondingly heavier burden of providing recreation for large masses of urban population.

If commercial recreation is one of America's big-scale businesses, it would be natural to suppose that this magnitude would reveal itself not only in receipts from patrons, but also in number of employees and their wages. Unfortunately it is impossible to substantiate satisfactorily this supposition; for one reason at least, that less than half the places of amusement reporting to the last Census of Business in 1935 included figures for either personnel or wages in their returns. There is no way of knowing whether the other half which did not report were larger than those from which the facts were elicited. But if the 16,729 establishments which reported are typical of the total, amusement centers as such are not the largest employers of labor. Their combined full-time and part-time employees totalled only 96,462, with a weekly pay roll of $1,701,956. Most of these amusement centers are small-scale; the national average of employees per establishment ran slightly over four. Horse and dog race tracks have the highest average, namely, 58.6; legitimate theaters stand next in order with an average of 23.1; then come baseball and football clubs, sports fields, etc., with 12.7; amusement parks with 10.7; while motion picture theaters trail behind with an average of only 7.7 employees.

The picture is somewhat different where total employment figures and not averages are considered. From this standpoint, motion pictures provide employment for more than two-thirds of the total reported, and pay seventy per cent of the total pay roll. Billiards and bowling employ ap-

proximately eighteen per cent of the total working force and pay roughly ten per cent of the wage bill. Legitimate theaters employ about 2.2 per cent of the total and pay 4.4 per cent of the wages. Dance halls, studios and academies employ eight per cent of the workers and pay 4.3 per cent of the total pay roll. Bands and orchestras employ less than two per cent of the total, and pay even a smaller proportion of the total wage bill, namely, slightly over one per cent. Baseball and football clubs and related enterprises employ approximately 1.3 per cent of the total and pay 1.7 per cent of the wages. None of the other types of amusement include so much as one per cent of the total employed force. In order to place these figures of employment in proper perspective it should be added that ninety per cent of legitimate theaters and eighty-nine per cent of motion picture employees are classed as full-time, while only two-thirds of billiard and bowling employees are so rated. But with the others the situation is much worse. Less than half the dance employees are full-time. The same holds true of band and orchestra players, employees of baseball and football clubs, etc., and of undifferentiated miscellaneous "other amusements." Curiously enough all the 406 employees of horse and dog race tracks are reported as full-time! For the industry and the country as a whole it is of interest to observe that amusement is still predominantly masculine, for a bare one-fifth of all employees are women. Only in commercial circulating libraries do they outnumber men, and only in the case of dance halls and legitimate theaters do they reach the proportions of one-third and two-fifths respectively.

Commercial amusements and indeed all spectator types of recreation tend to provide audience satisfaction out of all proportion to the number of people in action. This accounts for the enormous discrepancy between attendance or patronage or receipts and the number of persons employed to provide the amusement or their wages. Yet having said this it is necessary to add at once that any figures for attendance upon commercial recreation must be considered as estimates and approximations. Relatively few amusement centers keep statistics. So long as they survive, make a profit, and are able to clear with the various taxing authorities or police they are satisfied. It is true that theaters, stadia and similar concerns selling definitely numbered seats or places have a check upon patronage. But they are frequently loath to give out such figures. The uncertainty as to the investigator's true motives hinders the collecting of such statistics. Hence the necessity of resorting to estimates. Varied as the estimates may be we at least are certain on two points, namely, that radio and movies top the list of patronage. We are told that 30,000,000 people listen to the radio every night; that figure is probably too low. One authority gives the moving pictures 50,000,000 weekly attendance; another would place the total at nearer 100,000,000. Probably a billion and a half per year is a safe figure. Stuart Chase estimated that five million Americans attend theaters, concerts, shows, lectures and religious revivals each week. He likewise set down for baseball 40,000,000 per year, and 10,000,000 each for horse racing, football and prize fighting.[1]

A total of slightly more than a quarter billion of paid admissions (as estimated by sports experts) to various sporting events in 1935 divided itself as follows:

Sport	*Attendance*
Basketball	80,000,000
Baseball	50,000,000
Football	40,000,000
Boxing	25,000,000
Horse racing	22,000,000
Wrestling	7,500,000
Hockey	6,000,000
Softball	5,000,000
Dog racing	5,000,000
Bicycle racing	4,000,000
Motorcycling	3,250,000
Track and field	2,500,000
Swimming	1,200,000
Ice skating	1,000,000
Tennis	650,000
Golf	200,000
Miscellaneous	3,000,000
Total	256,300,000

The National Billiard Association of America estimates that there are 8,000,000 billiard players. An equal number are recorded as bowling regularly on the thousands of alleys scattered through-

[1]Charles A. Beard, *Whither Mankind?* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1928), p. 339.

out the country. Table-tennis or ping-pong players and trap-shooting enthusiasts have been figured at 5,000,000 each. The United States Lawn Tennis Association estimates a total of from 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 tennis players.

From such figures it would appear then that America takes this business of amusement seriously. For the moment, however, the task of estimating their total social significance must be deferred in favor of a more pressing problem, namely the trends in commercial recreation. This question of trends would have to be answered anyhow before venturing upon the deeper problem of evaluation.

There would probably be substantial agreement that the most significant and characteristic recreation trends throughout the country are: *a*) interest in active participation in games and sports; *b*) great vogue of automobile touring and other traveling; *c*) development of outdoor life and vacation activities; *d*) acceptance of governmental responsibility for providing public recreational facilities; *e*) expansion of the field of commercial amusements; *f*) desire for amusements that provide thrills and excitements; *g*) strong interest in competitive games and sports; *h*) popularity of forms of recreation which promote social relations between the sexes; *i*) development of organizations which facilitate recreational interests.

Of these nine trends the two most important are: *a*) rapid development of commercialized facilities for enjoyment of passive amusements; *b*) rapid provision of private and public facilities for participation in games and sports.

How may these trends be established? First there is an abundance of facts to prove that both the number and variety of commercial recreations and amusements have been on the increase. Second, we cannot overlook the remarkable increase in the amount of newspaper space devoted to games and sports. Other departments of the metropolitan daily have expanded but apparently the sports and amusements sections have shown the greatest ratio of growth.

"The role of athletic sports in providing passive amusement for the nation cannot be fully determined by counting the spectators at games and contests. An important leisure-time activitiy of unnumbered thousands is reading the sport pages of newspapers and listening to the radio broadcast of games in which they are interested. The growth of popular interest in athletic sports as an amusement enterprise is reflected in the remarkable increase in the amount of space given by newspapers to sport news concerned primarily with records and championships and day-by-day victories and defeats of teams and individual athletes. The sports section has become a regular feature of the daily press and in some of the afternoon papers reports of important games are given space on the first page. This increased emphasis upon sport news has gone along with the expansion of other departments of the newspaper but in general the space given to sports has tended to show the most rapid growth.

"In connection with the recent report on college athletics by the Carnegie Foundation, a study was made of the sports pages in six daily newspapers, the *New York Sun, New York Times, New York World, Boston Transcript, Salt Lake Deseret News,* and *San Francisco Chronicle.* In the three New York newspapers the sports news increased 167 per cent between the years 1913 and 1927. The proportion of space given the sports news, however, remained about the same, being approximately 10 per cent of the total news space for the two years studied. During these fourteen years the space given to school and college athletics made the greatest gain with an increase of 245 per cent while the space given to professional sports increased 110 per cent. In the remaining three papers the sports space advanced 112 per cent with school and college athletics occupying a place of growing importance during this period until in 1927 they were given more than three times the space accorded to professional athletics.

"Between 1920 and 1930 the amount of space given to sports in the *Chicago Tribune* showed a gain of 79 per cent while the total news space increased 76 per cent. Amusements occupied less actual space than athletic sports but increased their amount of space 229 per cent during this ten-year period, largely because of the greater attention given to the movies and the radio. The percentage of total news space given to sports remained approximately the same in 1920 and in 1930 but in the case of amusements the proportion was twice as great in 1930 as it was ten years previously. The popularity of football is seen in the fact that the space given this sport increased 145 per cent while the space given to baseball advanced but 23 per cent.

"In the study of Middletown it was found that organized sports showed 'a greater increase since 1890 in the relative amount of news space devoted

to them in the Middletown press than any other department of news—from 4 per cent of the total news content of the leading paper in 1890 to 16 per cent in 1923. For the three sample months of January, July, and October, 1923, the leading paper mentioned 169, 70 and 98 organized and unorganized sporting and athletic events in the city as against 6, 15, and 7 for the corresponding months of 1890.'

"Even weekly newspapers, which cater largely to rural and small town readers, are more and more following the example of the city dailies in giving greater emphasis to athletic sports. A recent study of Minnesota weekly newspapers showed that while only a small percentage of the news space is utilized for sports news, events in the world of sport are being reported much more frequently, especially since 1920. The average number of column inches of shop-set sport news increased from 3.23 in 1900 to 14.23 in 1929 and the proportion of shop-set news space given to sports increased during this period from 1.80 to 3.68. To a far greater extent than ever before people living in the more isolated places where there is no opportunity to witness important athletic events keep in touch with the fortunes of rival athletic teams and discuss in their hours of leisure the achievements of their favorite players.

"Recently this detailed reporting of athletic sports and games has been supplemented and made far more vivid by radio broadcasting. It is now common practice for local broadcasting stations to describe play by play many of the baseball, football, and basketball games played within their city and for championship events of wide interest to be brought within reach of the entire country by means of a nation-wide hook-up of radio stations. With forty per cent of all families in this country owning radios, this potential unseen radio audience has become exceedingly large, far outnumbering those who can crowd into the field where the game is being played. Through the development of radio the role of athletic sports as a means for passive entertainment has been multiplied many fold. Listening to radio accounts of games has become a leisure-time activity of real importance and will likely assume greater proportions in the future if it continues to be profitable to advertise athletic sports in this manner."[1]

A third unmistakable trend is away from amateurism and toward big-scale professionalism, the commercialization or industrialization of sport. This applies of course primarily to the spectator types of mass amusements and includes such sports as baseball, football, tennis, golf and recently even such new-comers as badminton. Apart from the sport as such is the tendency to organize competitive games, series, associations, and to advertise them through newspapers and radio to build up patronage. Every device known to applied science and the arts of influencing mass mind are utilized to this end.

To some observers there is a fourth notable trend, namely towards vicarious amusement, the spectator type of recreation, as contrasted with active self-amusement, participation in games and sports. Undoubtedly if we reckon in radio, movies, baseball and football the trend is clear, and Americans would stand convicted of being unwilling to amuse themselves if they are able to pay somebody else to amuse them. But the enormous vogue of automobiling, travel, camping, swimming, hunting, fishing, tennis, golf, billiards, bowling, dancing and other forms of recreation proves that there is a parallel and compensating trend toward active, participative sports and diversions. Hence it is not strictly true that the trend of recreation depends on the economic standard of the country; the greater the average man's surplus, the stronger his tendency to buy his pleasures.[2] Especially after the debacle of 1929 commercial recreation in the form of so-called "attendance sports" depending upon mass patronage lost ground, but during this same period participation in sports had increased until it is possible to assert that at the end of 1934 there were more persons actually playing games of all kinds, and more different games throughout the United States than at any other period in our national history.[3] Increasing leisure, enforced as well as voluntary, combined with publicity, advertising, and the activities of manufacturers and promoters made this possible. Manufacturers of sporting goods are quite aware of this situation and have been quick to capitalize upon it. From their experience it seems that the fastest growing participative sports at present are softball, badminton, soccer, squash, archery, polo and horses, ping-pong, trap-shooting, horseshoes and tennis.

[1]Jesse F. Steiner, *Americans at Play* (New York: Mcgraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1933), pp. 97-100.

[2]Herbert L. May and Dorothy Petgen, *Leisure and Its Use* (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1928), p. 5.

[3]J. R. Tunis, *Harper's Magazine*, December 1934.

Americans may be losing the use of their arms and legs through vicarious play, but that is still to be proved. Yet two things are clear: one, that so long as man has been man he has derived immense satisfaction from watching others work and play. To the Greek philosopher, Aristotle, watching a drama had a wholesome cathartic effect. The other fact is that the standards exacted by mass audiences from their professional entertainers on the baseball or football field or on the tennis court or in the boxing ring or at the movie theater seem to be rising. This can scarcely fail to lift the levels of technical skill and of appreciation. It may also be noted that frequently the revenues from mass spectator sports like college football make possible floating and fostering the minor intramural play activities which emphasize individual participation. Moreover witnessing other people play and even paying for such a privilege do not necessarily discourage the spectator from wanting or trying to go and do likewise. In Japan, China, India and the Straits Settlement small boys and young men may be seen vigorously playing baseball, football, tennis, hockey and other games, partly at least because large-scale commercialization and publicity have stimulated their interest.

One final trend must be recorded, namely the growing interest and participation of American women in many forms of athletics and sports. This tendency is one more overt manifestation of the increasing freedom of modern women. Just as no occupation is any longer the exclusive preserve of the male, so no sport has been marked off away from women. Naturally the heavier forms of sport like boxing, football or wrestling make only a very limited appeal to women. But swimming, tennis, golf, archery, fishing, bowling and even baseball have a considerable feminine following. Quite apart from personal participation in sports women constitute a notable element in the patronage of these major sports as well as in their by-activities of promotion and betting.

Sporting goods dealers are quite alert to the profits to be derived from catering to women's tastes in such sports as tennis, golf, skating, skiing, bowling or archery. This new interest of women is so apparent that students of population begin to look upon sports for women as a telling thrust at the traditional *Kinder, Kuchen und Kirche,* and the large family. Cries of alarm are to be heard, but the trend continues.

The radio is under almost constant fire from educational and child-welfare organizations, and the movie has been proved to have influenced youthful behaviour adversely. Two notable students of this problem state positively:

"It seems clear that the motion pictures were a factor of importance in the delinquent or criminal careers of about 10 per cent of the male and 25 per cent of the female offenders studied. . . . Several important indirect influences disposing or leading persons to delinquency or crime are discernible in the experiences of male offenders. Through the display of crime techniques and criminal patterns of behavior; by arousing desires for easy money and luxury, and by suggesting questionable methods for their achievement; by inducing a spirit of bravado, toughness, and adventurousness; by arousing intense sexual desires; by invoking daydreaming of criminal roles, motion pictures may create attitudes and furnish techniques conducive, quite unwittingly, to delinquent or criminal behavior. One may detect in the case of delinquent girls and young women influences similar to those spoken of in the case of young men."[1]

The social implications of this huge development of commercial recreation have appeared at least between the lines of earlier pages of this chapter. It may be worth while to point them up a little more explicitly. In so far as commercial amusements meet a great human need not met by either individual home resources, private agencies or public provision, they must be accepted as an integral part of our present-day American design for living. In so far as they transgress normally accepted standards of business practice they are to be treated accordingly. Some of them without suitable social controls have violated standards of decency, good taste, and educational ideals. Radio, movies, and the legitimate theater and other forms of organized amusement have done so and suffered for it.

Much still needs to be done with radio, movies and the legitimate theater before they measure up to their full potentiality. After all the worst sin is to live below your level. But these three notable forms of entertainment seem to be slowly raising their standards, partly through the painful process

[1]Herbert Blumer and Philip M. Hauser, *Movies, Delinquency and Crime,* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933), pp. 198-9.

of financial loss, partly through incessant criticism, partly through legislation and regulation.

Such a large-scale industry as amusement could not escape either taxation or regulation. Such regulation has usually refrained from overt censorship, and has been content with scrutiny of safety, health, the protection of minors, and the elimination of open vice or scandal. The familiar contest between private profit and public welfare has not been lacking in the field of commercialized amusements. In the socially approved forms of recreation something by way of a balance of interest has been achieved through public licensing, inspection and supervision, through the self-interest of proprietors themselves in raising standards to make a better popular appeal, and through competition with publicly provided facilities and private agencies. More than one "cheap and nasty" dance hall has been put out of business not by police repression but by inability to compete with the opportunities offered by a settlement house.

The balance has never yet been struck between the public interest and those forms of diversion commonly designated as gambling or vice. The very magnitude of operations in these fields indicates the difficulty of this so far unsolved problem. It is estimated that over a billion dollars pass from hand to hand in poker games every year; also that approximately two billions more were wagered on horse racing in the United States during a typical year like 1935. Nobody knows definitely how much more goes out in other forms of gambling such as "policy," under-cover lotteries, betting on football, baseball games and prize fights. A single championship match at a well-known Chicago golf club is reported to have provoked betting to the tune of half a million dollars. But the records of police and private welfare agencies teem with such facts. The "policy" racket in Chicago alone places 350,000 bets daily and takes in nearly twenty million dollars annually even in depression years. It is a matter of general knowledge that gambling and vice are amongst the most notorious sources for corrupting municipal politics and government. At the time this Survey goes to press the issue is being fought out in Chicago, but nobody knows whether the Attorney General of the State of Illinois who rules against legalized betting in Chicago will prevail or whether the City Council's judgment in passing a legalizing ordinance will be supported either by law or public opinion. Early in 1938 reports of wide-spread petty gambling devices near 126 of Chicago's 349 elementary schools were confirmed by school principals, police, Parent-Teacher groups and the attorney for the board of education. Apparently one-third of the elementary and even kindergarten pupils of the whole city were being given opportunities for initiation into gambling by various kinds of vending machines in school-supply shops, drug, delicatessen and grocery stores.

As to sexual vice, the situation is usually determined by local industrial conditions, the business trend, race or national composition of the population, proportion of the sexes, age divisions, local police administration and the activities of private welfare or reform agencies.

In general it may be said that so far as vice conditions are concerned Chicago ranks distinctly better than certain other large American cities. Venereal disease is, however, still a grave problem, so grave that the Mayor has set up a city-wide committee to combat it as the local phase of the national campaign against the so-called "social diseases." Thanks to co-operation between the Police Commissioner, the States Attorney and the Committee of Fifteen the most obvious features of commercialized vice are fairly well under control. But in Chicago, as almost universally elsewhere, organized vice is associated with organized crime, various types of marginal or illegitimate business, and corrupt politics. That something more than "eternal vigilance" of law-enforcement agencies is requisite is startlingly clear from the fact that the majority of vice resorts are situated in the areas showing the highest rate of community disorganization and the most acute incidence of social problems. The implication is obvious. It is not too much to say that in those parts of a city where adequate provision for recreation is made by public authorities, where private agencies are alert and active, and where wholesome commercial amusements are available to complete the picture, the cruder border-line types of diversion like drunkenness, gambling and sex vice receive scant encouragement and cannot thrive.

CHAPTER II

REGULATION, LICENSING AND CONTROL OF COMMERCIAL RECREATION

Ever since the founding of the first American colony in 1604 the leisure of our people has been unremittingly subjected to regulations and restrictions imposed by constituted authorities. Ironically enough, though the first emigrants to this country from England came to America to avoid religious intolerance and persecution, it was because of the religious significance of the sabbath as a day of rest and worship that all recreational pursuits were forbidden on that day. The lasting effect of these original laws is attested by the "Sunday Blue laws" still prevalent in many states and in a relatively large number of local communities even in states where no such ban exists. Until recently the major baseball leagues, for example, had to take this situation into consideration when arranging schedules, for Boston and Philadelphia did not permit Sunday contests. Indeed it was only within the past decade that Oak Park and Evanston, Chicago suburbs, permitted the showing of movies on Sunday, and the present Illinois state law forbids boxing, wrestling and horse racing on Sunday.

Until comparatively recently recreation was not looked upon any too favorably by governmental agencies, and generally speaking it is only since the turn of the present century that public provision for active recreation has been accorded widespread recognition, and acknowledged by law as a governmental function. Even today not a few regard parks, playgrounds and other governmental recreation systems as frills which should be drastically curtailed if not eliminated whenever economic conditions force a reduction in governmental expenditures. In the main, laws relating to commercial amusements originated from the desire on the part of government officials to discourage such forms of activity by assessing comparatively high fees and by passing stringent rules and regulations regarding their operation. It is recorded in the early history of Chicago, for example, that while theatrical enterprises were regarded as obnoxious to the common council, licenses were issued to bring in revenue and at the same time to permit the operation of these enterprises because the patronage of a certain element in the community seemed to justify their existence. Thus in the early days of the city billiards was an illegal recreational activity, and it was more than forty years before the game was regarded as sufficiently respectable to warrant licensing without subterfuge.

Commenting upon the legal status of commercial amusements in this country, L. H. Weir, in the *Recreation Survey of Buffalo,* points out that,

> "Almost universally throughout the United States, practically all forms of commercial recreation have been brought under public control through regulatory state statutes, city charter provisions and city ordinances. The maintenance of moral standards, protection of the health and safety of the people, and to obtain a source of revenue, are the chief reasons for public control of commercial recreations."

Theoretically leisure is a man's own time to do with it as he sees fit. Some have referred to it as the time which changes an existence into living. In a democracy where such leisure is unregimented, the individual is permitted to do what he or she wishes so long as such activities do not interfere with the pleasure and happiness of others. It is because of this latter contingency, however, that regulations of one kind or another are imposed to control the individual's recreational life, and for the same reason occasionally a prohibition against specified unsocial activities is enacted. The basis for such action, it should be understood, is not to deprive one of pleasure, but to protect society from the effects of over-indulgence in certain forms of activity and to reduce to a minimum anti-social practices which for whatever reason have become associated with certain specific amusements. For example, the use of narcotics is prohibited by statute not because society wishes to deprive an individual of pleasure, but because of the established

relationship between dope and social problems such as unemployment and crime. Similarly prostitution is tabooed not only on moral grounds but also because it is the greatest single source of venereal disease. There are many other social factors such as the deterioration of property values in districts where such practices are tolerated. Likewise, it was found over a period of years that the congregating of youth in pool halls in certain districts often contributed to gangs and the subsequent juvenile delinquency of many of those involved; so pool halls were regulated.

It is inevitable, therefore, that society through the will of the majority should impose rules of conduct for the benefit not only of the majority but also of a large percentage of the minority group who are thereby restricted or prohibited in their recreational choices. Essentially there is little difference between laws governing the driving of an automobile on the public highway and the regulating and controlling of an individual's recreational activities. There is no doubt conflict between individual desires and some concept of public welfare; but that is part of the price one pays for the privilege of living in society. It will be observed that the primary object of such regulation is the individual participant. Obviously, the extent to which commercial recreation facilities are provided is dependent almost entirely upon the willingness of a sufficient number of individuals to pay for the privilege of utilizing these facilities, whether as participants or spectators. Since it is established with the profit motive, the individual establishment considers that to get business, live, and make money it must provide what the public wants and not what the proprietor may think the public should have. On the other hand, even though a considerable number of individuals may wish certain forms of amusement which are not regarded as desirable, establishments catering to this group are forbidden; likewise even if a number of individuals may be willing to pay for certain abuses in connection with many otherwise respectable agencies, society imposes regulations and restrictions governing the operation of these establishments, thus indirectly guiding and controlling the individual patron's activities. This is the essential basis for regulation of commercial recreation. However, since many proprietors in their anxiety to increase their earnings might otherwise neglect adequate provisions for the safety and health of their patrons, the law usually goes further in setting up certain minimum requirements governing fire protection, health conditions, etc., in places of amusement. Because of the public character of commercial recreation, the Building Code provides in greater detail for this type of building than for private homes or many other commercial and industrial institutions.

The foregoing discussion makes it evident that legislation concerning or affecting recreation is of two distinct types: one designed to encourage and promote various kinds of amusement in recognition of the necessity of wholesome and legitimate recreation, especially in industrial and commercial communities; the other to control and regulate such recreation facilities in the interest of public order, safety and morals. As a corollary to this second type or principle of legislation may be noted regulatory acts inspired by business or professions themselves in the interest of setting up standards or limiting competition. Ordinarily, these forms of regulation are administered by trade, professional or labor groups themselves. So far such regulation has been of minor significance in commercial recreation.

In order to indicate more fully the relationship of government to commercial recreation, pertinent citations from a recent study undertaken in cooperation with the United States Office of Education by Ernest H. Hahne and Donald S. Warner of Northwestern University, *A Survey of School and Municipal Finance in the City of Evanston*, are included at this point. In this report, which includes an analysis of business licenses, it is pointed out that:

". . . several recent decisions of the Illinois courts have clearly established the rule that cities and villages may not apply licenses to any business or occupation which is not specifically designated by statute, unless the power to license is necessarily incident to other powers which are granted to the cities and villages. In addition to setting forth the businesses and occupations which may be licensed, the law distinguishes the occasions and activities for which fees may be charged. One group of occupations and businesses specifically designated may be *licensed* and *taxed*, and here the amounts charged for permission to follow these occupations or businesses are limited by the

courts only in that the total revenue may not be so large as to exclude these businesses from the cities applying the licenses. A second group may be *licensed* and *regulated*, and here it is implied that a fee may be charged. The charging of this fee is permitted, however, only on the grounds that it is necessary to defray the costs incurred by the city in carrying out the regulation, supervision, and inspection of these businesses. Hence, the license fee must bear some reasonable relationship to this added cost incurred by the city. In a third group, the per cent of the gross receipts which may be taken as a fee is specifically set forth. . . .

"A license is a payment which the state or city makes a pre-requisite to the legal transaction of business. One primary distinction between the license and a fee is that the fee is a special payment made on the occasion of a special benefit rendered by the state or its agencies, whereas a license is a periodically recurring payment. But so close does the amount and administration resemble the fee that the license, by many experts in public finance, has been termed a kind of fee. Professor Seligman distinguishes between license fees and license taxes. License fees are those licenses which are levied for the purpose of defraying the expenses of supervision, inspection, and regulation to which the cities or states are put in order to carry out the proper exercise of the police power of the state. These levies should, under no circumstances, exceed the cost to which the city is put, and should not be deemed sources of general revenue. Like all fees, they find their maximum in the cost of the services rendered.

"A fee is a special payment designed to cover the cost of benefits rendered by the services of the government. It should be used only when benefits are rendered to those from whom payments are required. License fees consist in those payments made whenever the revenue is limited to the cost of service rendered. There is, however, no special benefit measuring or limiting the license, and herein lies a second distinction between the license and the fee.

"The payment of other licenses more than covers the expenses of supervision, inspection, regulation, or registration. Such licenses are designed either to supply revenue for other governmental purposes, or to discourage the operation of particular kinds of business. Such levies are not limited to either the special benefit of the license, or the cost of the governmental services. These levies are imposed under the taxing power of the state, and must be placed in contrast with the license fees which are designed to meet expenses required in the exercise of the police power of the state. In liquor legislation, 'high license' came to mean the use of the licensing power of the state for revenue purposes as well as the use of police power for regulatory purposes. In contrast to the high saloon license, the building permit is the use of the licensing power of the state, and should conform either to cost or to special benefit received.

"When the licensing power is used without regard for revenue, it frequently takes the form of orders. Thus the Federal Trade Commission and the Interstate Commerce Commission issue orders instead of licenses. Under stage censorship, the English Theatre Act of 1843 was one of the first instances in which 'orders' replaced licenses. If police regulation is the primary or sole purpose of the license, then such ends may be well accomplished by 'orders' of, say, the police department. It may be possible that there exist certain businesses where health, welfare, and safety are involved, which receive no special benefit whatsoever from the payment of a license, which might better co-operate with public purpose if the license were replaced by orders, because the owner or manager might be resentful of the penalizing influence of unduly high licenses.

"Wherever regulation, inspection, supervision, or registration is not the primary purpose for which the licensing power is used, but these objects become secondary, or incidental, to revenue purposes, then the license tends to partake more clearly of the nature of a tax than a fee. The issue then is whether such revenue is raised in conformity with the fundamental principles of equity, certainty, economy, and convenience.

"Historically speaking, many licenses now imposed in American cities have originated at the request of the occupation, profession, or businesses licensed. Whenever certain standards of proficiency and efficiency could be measured, there has been a desire to check unlimited competition within the field, and to protect the existing competitors against unnecessary and undesirable new competitors. Realtors, nurses, florists, accountants, physicians, and others have sought the aid of the municipality to impose a license as a 'certificate of convenience and necessity.'

"In such instances, the license, if reluctantly granted by the municipal administration, is often willingly paid as an annual levy. For single cities far removed, the effectiveness of such licenses is greater than for metropolitan centers with surrounding suburbs. But the desirability of such licenses must in the long run depend on the willingness of the city to regulate the degree of local competition. High licenses may very willingly be paid if there is the assurance that the high license

is an effective means of checking the entrance of competitors, or a means of driving out existing marginal competitors. Courts have been inclined to regard the use of licenses for such purposes, however, with a considerable degree of skepticism, and in certain cases have ruled against the use of license taxes for this purpose on the ground that license fees only may be levied under the exercise of the police power. It would be a titantic task to discover a clear-cut judicial interpretation that would eliminate the confusion existing between those licenses primarily desirable for the licensee, and those primarily a source of revenue for the municipality."

The power to permit, control, and regulate commercial recreation is vested in each of the forty-eight individual state governments. The federal government has a certain interest through its taxing authority and more especially over those activities which transcend state boundaries, such as radio and pleasure travel. In Illinois the state legislature has delegated much of its authority to the various governmental subdivisions both through charter and also from time to time as the need arises, by enactment of special legislation. In no instance is the local community permitted to pass any ordinance or regulatory measures which in any manner conflict with the state statutes. The state may, however, by legislation restrict the power of the governmental subdivisions which it encompasses by repealing or revising the state statutes. Cognizance was taken of commercial recreation by the state in the original charter of the city of Chicago, granted in 1837. Section 28 (c) "Empowers Common Council 'to regulate, license, or prohibit the exhibition of common showman and of shows of every kind, or the exhibition of any natural or artificial curiosities, caravans, circuses or theatrical performances'." In the intervening years to 1937 the legislature in indicating the functions of the City Council has delegated to it the powers amongst others to:

Fix the amount, terms and manner of issuing and revoking license;

Regulate and prohibit the exhibition or carrying of banners, placards, advertisements or hand-bills in the streets or public grounds, or upon the sidewalks;

License, tax, regulate, suppress and prohibit hawkers, peddlers, keepers of ordinaries, theatricals and other exhibitions, shows and amusements, and to revoke such licenses at pleasure;

License, tax and regulate baseball exhibitions, wrestling matches, walking matches, automobile races, bicycle races, and all other athletic contests and exhibitions carried on for gain; such tax to be fixed or based on the gross receipts derived from the sale of admission tickets to such exhibitions, matches, races or other athletic contests, said tax, however, not to exceed three per cent of such gross receipts;

License, regulate, tax or prohibit and suppress billiard, bagatelle, pigeon-hole, or any other tables or implements kept or used for a similar purpose, in any place of public resort, pin alleys and ball alleys;

Suppress bawdy and disorderly houses; houses of ill-fame or assignation, within the limits of the city and within three miles of the outer boundaries of the city; and also to suppress gaming and gambling houses, lotteries, and all fraudulent devices and practices for the purpose of gaining or obtaining money or property; and to prohibit the sale or exhibition of obscene or immoral publications, prints, pictures or illustrations;

License, regulate and prohibit the selling or giving away of any intoxicating, malt, vinous, mixed or fermented liquor;

The city council in cities, and president and board of trustees in villages, shall also have the power to forbid and punish the selling or giving away of any intoxicating malt, vinous, mixed or fermented liquor to any minor, apprentice or servant, or insane, idiotic or distracted person, habitual drunkard, or person intoxicated;

Regulate places of amusement;

Prevent intoxication, fighting, quarreling, dog fights, cock fights, and all disorderly conduct;

Declare what shall be a nuisance, and to abate the same; and to impose fines upon parties who may create, continue or suffer nuisances to exist;

Appoint a board of health, and prescribe its powers and duties;

Do all acts, make all regulations, which may be necessary or expedient for the promotion of health or the suppression of disease;

Direct the location and regulate the use and construction of bathing beaches, within the limits of the city or village;

Prevent and regulate the rolling of hoops, playing of ball, flying of kites, or any other amusement or practice having a tendency to annoy persons passing in the streets or on the sidewalks, or to frighten teams and horses.

The state of Illinois itself retains the right to license the following types of recreation: (1) horse races, (2) athletic contests (boxing and wrestling), (3) retail liquor selling. Each of these

activities is placed under the control of a commission appointed by the governor. In the instance of horse racing the state retains exclusive jurisdiction; in the other two the local community can by option prohibit these activities or pass further restrictions and licenses if they allow their operation within their respective corporate limits. Detailed information regarding legislative provisions governing these individual activities, methods of licensing, rates, etc., are included hereafter in the individual chapters devoted to them.

The federal government assesses a twenty-five dollar tax on all retail liquor establishments, and in addition levies an amusement tax of ten per cent of the price of the admission ticket (except those less than forty-one cents). Similarly, taxes are levied against admission fees to night clubs and cabarets on the basis of one and one-half cents for each ten cents paid for admission. This tax does not apply where the admission charge is fifty cents or less; and where no specific charge is made for admission the basis is deemed to be twenty per cent of the charge made for the food.

In the city of Chicago the majority of commercial recreation and amusement establishments have been grouped for licensing purposes in Chapter 38 of the City Ordinances, namely, *General Theater and Amusement Provisions*. Twenty-one classes of establishments comprise all licensed commercial recreation agencies except dancing schools, shooting galleries, retail liquor establishments, billiards, bowling and swimming pools. Horse racing is conducted exclusively outside the city limits; therefore no provision is made in the city ordinances regulating this type of enterprise. As of January 1, 1938 sections 1893 and 1897 of the city ordinances, make the following provisions for classifying the twenty-one types of amusement for license purposes:

All theatricals, shows and amusements offered, operated, presented or exhibited for gain, or for admission to which the public is required to pay a fee, are hereby divided into the twenty-two* classes hereinafter designated. Such theatricals, shows and amusements are, for the purpose of this ordinance, hereinafter referred to by the general term "entertainments," and the theater, opera house, auditorium, hall, park grounds, gardens, tent or other enclosure within which it is intended to produce, offer or present any such entertainments, for the purpose of this ordinance, is hereinafter referred to by the general term "place."

1st class. All entertainments of a theatrical, dramatic, operatic, vaudeville, variety or spectacular character and entertainments given in moving picture theaters.

Annual license fees shall be as set forth in the following table:

Maximum seating capacity	*Maximum price of admission not over 25 cents*	*Maximum price of admission not over 40 cents*	*Maximum price of admission not over* $1.00	*Maximum price of admission over* $1.00
350	250	400	600	1,000
750	325	550	800	1,100
1,000	400	750	1,000	1,200
1,500	450	850	1,500	1,600
1,750	500	950	1,600	1,700
2,100	625	1,050	1,800	1,900
2,300	750	1,200	1,900	2,000
2,500	875	1,300	2,100	2,200
3,000	1,000	1,400	2,400	2,500
3,500	1,125	1,500	2,600	2,800
4,000	1,250	1,700	2,800	3,000
Over 4,000	1,375	1,800	3,000	3,200

In determining the maximum price of admission the prices charged for box seats shall not be included.

Any person, firm or corporation presenting, conducting, operating or offering any of the foregoing class of entertainment, except grand opera, and temporarily charging more than the maximum price of admission covered by the license held by such person, firm or corporation, shall obtain a special permit or a new license, as hereinafter provided, before making such additional charge.

Applications for such special permit shall be made to the city collector, and upon payment to him for each day during which such excess admission fee is to be charged of an amount equal to three per cent of the difference between the annual license fee paid and the annual license fee required to be paid for such entertainment when the additional admission fee is charged, the mayor shall issue such special permit, attested by the city clerk; provided, that the minimum special permit fee to be charged by virtue hereof shall be the sum of one dollar. Such special permits may be issued for any period of time, provided, the special permit fee is paid in advance on the basis of the aforesaid daily rate.

Any person, firm or corporation holding a 1st class amusement license and desiring for the remainder of the license period to increase the admission fees or the seating capacity in excess of that covered by such license, shall make application to the city collector for a license covering such increase in admission fees or seating capacity. Upon

*17th class eliminated by action of city council Jan. 25, 1937, and 22d class, Dec. 6, 1933.

the surrendering of the license held by him and the payment of the increased rate required by the changes, as aforesaid, there shall be issued a license covering such place of amusement with the increased admission fees.

It shall further be the duty of every person, firm or corporation operating or maintaining an entertainment of the 1st class under this chapter and charging more than the admission fee covered by the license held by such person, firm or corporation, to display in proximity to the license, the special permit required for the period during which such additional admission fee is charged.

2d class. All lectures, readings or recitations, exhibits of paintings, stereopticon views, living pictures, panoramas, museums, panopticons, exhibits of statuary and of art, and electrical and mechanical shows.

Two hundred dollars per annum.

3d class. All musical entertainments consisting solely of vocal or instrumental music, or both vocal and instrumental music, and not of the nature of an opera, but being what is commonly known and described as a "concert."

One hundred dollars per annum.

4th class. All exhibitions consisting solely of moving pictures, known as mutoscope, kinetoscope, cinematograph, kaleidoscope, penny arcades and places in which amusement is furnished through or by one or more automatic picture devices or other similar devices.

Two hundred dollars per annum.

5th class. Dances, amateur theatrical entertainments, bazaars and other entertainments of like character engaged in or carried on in any hall, structure or building.

The places where entertainments of the 5th class are conducted, managed or carried on shall be licensed according to floor space. The license fees shall be as follows:

Twenty-five dollars for not over twenty-four hundred square feet of floor space; two dollars for each additional one hundred square feet of floor space or fraction thereof; provided, however, that the maximum license fee required for 5th class amusements shall in no case exceed the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars; provided, further, that no license fee shall be required for any hall used occasionally for entertainments of the 5th class where such hall is located in a church edifice, or is maintained in connection with a public or parochial school. In computing floor space, aisle space, space between walls and partitions of such place and balcony space shall be included.

6th class. All grounds, gardens or other enclosures of the kind commonly known and described as "summer gardens" where musical entertainments only (whether instrumental or vocal, or both) are furnished.

Twenty dollars per week.

7th class. All grounds, gardens or other enclosures of the kind commonly known and described as "amusement parks" wherein shows of different classes are offered or presented by one or more concessionaires.

Forty dollars per week; provided, however, that such license shall not authorize the production, conduct, or offer of any entertainment within such park or grounds where an admission fee is charged therefor, nor the operation of any entertainment for gain; each of such entertainments shall be licensed in accordance with this ordinance.

8th class. All grounds, gardens or other enclosures of the kind commonly known and described as "picnic grounds."

Ten dollars per annum.

9th class. All roller skating or ice skating rinks.

Two hundred dollars per annum.

10th class. All baseball, football, basketball, hockey, tennis and bowling matches, bicycle races, ice skating, billiard tournaments, track and field games, or other athletic contests or exhibitions of like character excepting amusement devices the operation of which is governed or controlled by the deposit of a coin or token.

If such place has a seating capacity sufficient to accommodate twenty thousand or more persons, the annual license fee shall be four thousand dollars; if such place has a seating capacity sufficient to accommodate fifteen thousand persons and less than twenty thousand persons the annual license fee shall be three thousand dollars; if such place has a seating capacity sufficient to accommodate ten thousand persons and less than fifteen thousand persons, the annual license fee shall be one thousand dollars; if such place has a seating capacity sufficient to accommodate four thousand persons and less than ten thousand persons, the annual license fee shall be three hundred and fifty dollars; and if such place has a seating capacity of less than four thousand persons the annual license fee shall be seventy-five dollars.

Provided, however, where all of the proceeds of any games or exhibitions held in such place inure exclusively to the use or benefit of charitable, religious or educational institutions, and where proof to such effect is furnished in a manner satisfactory to the city collector, then the annual license fee shall be as follows:

If such place has a seating capacity sufficient to accommodate twenty thousand or more persons, the annual license fee shall be two thousand dollars; if such place has a seating capacity sufficient to accommodate fifteen thousand persons and less than twenty thousand persons, the annual license fee shall be fifteen hundred dollars; if such place has a seating capacity sufficient to accommodate ten thousand persons and less than fifteen thousand persons, the annual license fee shall be one thousand dollars; if such place has a seating capacity sufficient to accommodate four thousand persons and less than ten thousand persons the annual license fee shall be three hundred and fifty dollars; and if such place has a seating capacity of less than four thousand persons the annual license fee shall be seventy-five dollars.

11th class. All wrestling matches.

License fees for entertainments of the 11th class shall be as provided for in article I of chapter 37 of this ordinance.

"3 per cent of admission fees. If held in hall or theatre, this fee is to be in addition to regular license fee for hall or places of amusement of that type. The mayor or city council, upon recommendation of Athletic Commission, may remit this fee if held under the auspices of Y.M.C.A., American Legion, National Guard, or educational, religious or charitable institutions, or for charitable purposes."

12th class. Poultry shows, horse shows, stock shows, flower shows, dog shows, cat shows, automobile shows, business and business appliance shows, industrial and trade shows, billiard or pool matches, exhibits or contests of balloons or aeronautic devices, or any similar entertainment intended to represent any sport, art or science or the progress and development of the same.

If it is intended to produce, conduct, offer or present entertainments of the 12th class only, and the highest price of admission charged thereto shall exceed seventy-five cents, the license fee shall be twenty-five dollars per day; if the highest price of admission exceeds fifty cents, but does not exceed seventy-five cents, fifteen dollars per day; if the highest price of admission exceeds ten cents, but does not exceed fifty cents, ten dollars per day; and if the highest price of admission does not exceed ten cents, one dollar per day.

13th class. All circuses, menageries, or combined circuses and menageries, wild west shows, dog and pony shows, monkey shows and caravans.

If it is intended to produce, offer or present entertainments of the 13th class only, and the place in which such entertainment is to be given has a seating capacity sufficient to accommodate more than six thousand persons, the license fee shall be one hundred fifty dollars per day; more than three thousand persons, but not more than six thousand persons, fifty dollars per day; more than one thousand five hundred persons, but not more than three thousand persons, thirty-five dollars per day; more than seven hundred fifty persons, but not more than one thousand five hundred persons, twenty-five dollars per day; more than four hundred persons, but not more than seven hundred fifty persons, ten dollars per day; not more than four hundred persons, ten dollars per month.

14th class. All side shows, concerts, vaudeville, variety, musical or minstrel entertainments and all entertainments known as "airdromes," given under covering of canvas or within any structure or enclosure intended for temporary use and capable of easy transfer or removal.

Ten dollars per day; provided, however, that if it is intended to conduct or operate entertainments of the 14th class at a permanent location during any part of the "summer season," as defined in this chapter, a license for such entertainment may be issued for the fee fixed for amusements of the 1st class, subject to the restrictions set forth in section 1900 thereof.

15th class. All swimming and diving shows.

Two dollars per week.

16th class. All entertainments known as "platform" or "walk-around" shows, being shows for which no seats are provided for spectators, and all entertainments known as "villages" of different nationalities.

Two dollars per week.

18th class. All entertainments operated by motive power other than animal power, including devices, apparatus, attractions and amusements for the transportation of persons.

Two dollars per week for each of such entertainments where the fee fixed or fare charged for a ride thereon does not exceed five cents; five dollars per week for each of such entertainments where the fee fixed or fare charged for a ride thereon exceeds five cents, but does not exceed ten cents; ten dollars per week where the fee fixed or fare charged for a ride thereon exceeds ten cents.

19th class. All entertainments consisting of pony or animal rides or attractions operated by animal power for the transportation of persons.

Fifty cents per week.

20th class. All exhibitions and displays of fireworks.

Fifty dollars per day.

21st class. All entertainments, exhibitions, performances, contests, or amusements not in-

cluded in any of the foregoing classes. (As amended December 6, 1933.)

Five dollars per day.

It shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation licensed under this section to charge admission fees greater than that covered by the license or special permit, and the charging at any time of a greater admission fee shall be cause for the suspension or revocation of such license by the mayor.

Among those establishments not included in the aforementioned classifications are billiard and pool rooms for which an annual license is required for all locations except private residences, schools, municipal institutions or charitable organizations. The annual fee is on a basis of $7.50 for each billiard table, except that class "A" retail liquor establishments operating only one table do not require a fee. Bowling alleys operated for profit within the city require a license, the fee for which is $5.00 for each alley. Retail liquor establishments are not permitted to operate in Chicago without a semi-annual fee of $300 paid to the city for a local retail liquor license, and also $50 required by the state annually and $25 by the federal government as licensing taxes of these bodies.

Public places of amusement not included in the twenty-one major classifications, where the general public is admitted "to any building, hall, room, place or enclosure where food or drink is served, where the public may engage in or witness the performance of any theatrical entertainment, exhibition, show, amusement, dancing, skating or entertainment other than musical with or without payment of a charge or admission fee," require an annual license fee varying according to the size and capacity of the establishment.

Where such place has a floor space not exceeding 2,400 square feet and seating capacity not exceeding 300 persons, the annual license fee shall be five hundred dollars; the next larger grade, with floor space not exceeding 4,000 square feet and seating capacity not exceeding 500 persons, six hundred and twenty-five dollars; the next larger grade, with floor space not exceeding 6,400 square feet and seating capacity not exceeding 800 persons, seven hundred and fifty dollars; the next larger grade, with floor space not exceeding 7,500 square feet and seating capacity not exceeding 1,000 persons, one thousand dollars; the next larger grade, with floor space exceeding 7,500 square feet and seating capacity exceeding 1,000 persons, one thousand and five hundred dollars.

In computing floor space for the purposes hereof, all space used for entertainment or refreshment purposes, all aisle space, space between walls, and the partitions of such space, together with all balcony space, shall be computed.[1]

Retail liquor establishments providing music with not over a three-piece orchestra "for the entertainment of or dancing by patrons and where no other entertainment, exhibition, show or amusement is conducted, shall not be considered as a public place of amusement" and are required to pay a semi-annual fee of $50 in addition to their regular liquor license costs.

Any person, firm or corporation engaged in the business of carrying on or conducting a natatorium or swimming pool where a charge is made for the use of such natatorium or pool or where bathing suits are let or rented for hire is required to secure an annual license at a cost of $15; similarly, every person operating a bathing beach where a charge is made must secure a license based upon locker and dressing room accommodations as follows:

Where beach has locker and dressing room accommodations for not exceeding 100 patrons, $35.00; for over 100 and not exceeding 200 patrons, $70.00; for over 200 and not exceeding 300 patrons, $100.00; for over 300 and not exceeding 400 patrons, $135.00; for over 400 and not exceeding 500 patrons, $165.00; for over 500 patrons, $200.00.

Provided, however, that where an admission fee is charged in addition to the locker and dressing room fee, the license fees shall be twenty-five per cent of the fees herein fixed for such beaches in addition to the aforesaid rates.[2]

These facts illustrate the three-fold licensing principle previously enumerated. For example, the purpose in the case of retail liquor establishments is essentially to derive revenue, to limit the number of establishments, and simultaneously to regulate their operation. In the case of billiard halls, the basis of licensing is primarily regulation. While the fee for dancing schools is established for the purpose of regulation, the maximum fee of $500 for ten instructors, which is at a rate 500 per cent in excess of the minimum, is designed to discourage certain unacceptable types of establishments and thereby restrict the number of such un-

[1] *Revised Chicago Code of 1931*, ch. 36, sec. 1911.
[2] *Ibid.*, ch. 37, sec. 1927.

social agencies. The reader will have observed similar instances in conning the rates levied upon other types of commercial recreation in the city of Chicago. No extensive comparison could be made of licensing rates prevailing in Chicago with those in operation in other American cities because in many instances a variance in the bases used for determining the amounts paid for an individual license, rendered it impossible to reduce these figures and the Chicago rates to a common denominator. However, the following table represents the range of license rates for the more popular forms of recreation, exclusive of retail liquor establishments for which no information was available:

Comparison of Chicago Amusement Licenses With Those of 142 Other Cities

Kind of license	Chicago Per year Min.	Chicago Per year Max.	Other cities Per year Min.	Other cities Per year Max.	Other cities Per year Average	Number of cities used
Academies, dancing	$25	$500	$ 1	$250	$ 61.24	46
Amusement park devices	*104	520	25	600	237.00	18
Bowling alleys	†5	...	2	200	27.00	37
Exhibitions (per day)	5	150	1	300	39.30	19
Movie theaters	350	3,200	5	1,000	81.00	36
Pool halls	‡7.50	...	5	400	37.00	25
Shooting galleries	...	50	5	50	36.00	13
Skating rinks	...	200	5	200	58.00	34
Theaters	350	3,200	2	762	143.50	30

*Computed at $2.00 to $10.00 per week for each device.
†$5.00 for each bowling alley, per year.
‡$7.50 for each table, per year.

Licenses for commercial recreation establishments in the city of Chicago are secured in the main through the regular licensing procedures of the city. In subsequent chapters relating to specific amusements and entertainments exceptions to this procedure will be indicated. The following represents the provisions made in the City Code for the issuance of licenses:[1]

2895. Mayor to grant.] In all cases where licenses are required to be procured, such licenses shall be granted by the mayor and attested by the city clerk, except where provision is expressly made for the granting of licenses by some other officer of the city.

2896. Revocation of license.] If at any time after the granting of any license, any department head shall certify to the mayor that the licensee is violating any of the ordinances of the city of Chicago or any of the statutes of the state of Illinois in the conduct of his business, the mayor shall have the power to revoke the license therefor.

2897. Subject to ordinances — issuance of license.] All licenses shall be subject to the ordinances which may be in force at the time of issuing thereof or which may subsequently be passed by the city council. All licenses authorized to be issued and required to be procured by any ordinance of the city of Chicago, which are granted by the mayor, shall be issued by the city clerk upon instruction or direction from the mayor so to do, and all such licenses so issued shall bear the seal of the city of Chicago.

2898. Applications for licenses.] All applications for licenses of any character whatsoever, except those licenses specifically excepted, shall be made in writing on a blank provided for that purpose, to the city collector. Upon receipt of an application for a license which requires an investigation or an inspection by any other department of the city of Chicago and the approval thereof as to the character or fitness of any applicant for a license, or as to the proper location, safety or sanitary condition of the premises in which the business for which a license is applied for is to be managed, conducted, operated or carried on, the city collector shall transmit to each department charged with the investigation and approval of any such application such information as may be necessary in order that the required investigation or inspection may be made. Each department head charged with such investigation or inspection shall, immediately upon receipt of such information from the city collector, cause an investigation or inspection to be made; and shall, within ten days after the receipt of said information from the city collector, either approve or disapprove of the issuance of any such license, and shall notify the city collector accordingly. Upon receiving satisfactory proof from the city collector that the ap-

[1] *Revised Chicago Code, 1931,* ch. 59, art. I, pp. 1109-1111.

plicant for a license is a fit and proper person to be granted such license, that all laws and ordinances relating to health, safety, sanitation, location, or otherwise regulating the business or occupation for which a license is applied for have been complied with, the mayor may authorize the issuance of said license by the city clerk. Provided, however, that if the head of any department which is charged with the investigation or inspection of the safety or sanitary condition of the premises in which the business for which a license is applied for is to be managed, conducted, operated or carried on, shall certify to the city collector that he is unable to approve the application for a license within the said ten days and shall recommend that the party applying for said license be allowed to manage, conduct, operate or carry on said business for a period not exceeding thirty days, it shall be within the discretion of the mayor upon the recommendation of the city collector to authorize the issuance of a license for a thirty-day period, but upon the issuance of any such thirty-day license any and all department heads who have recommended said thirty-day license shall be immediately notified of its issuance by the city collector. Before the issuance of any such thirty-day license the city collector shall collect the fee for the full license period for which application has been made.

2899. License fees to be paid in advance—receipt of fee not to be construed as the issuance of a license.] All applications for a license, made to the city collector, shall, after approval by the commissioner of buildings as to compliance with the zoning ordinance, be accompanied by the full amount of the fee payable for such license.

Whenever a license cannot be issued at the time the application for the same is made, the city collector shall issue a receipt to the applicant for the money paid in advance. All such receipts shall have plainly indicated thereon that the receipt of payment of the license fee is not to be construed as the issuance of a license.

No such receipt, or the payment of any license fee in advance of the issuance of the license in due form, shall entitle or authorize any person, firm or corporation to any of the rights or privileges conferred by the issuance of any license, or to the opening or maintaining of any business or establishment contrary to the provisions of any of the ordinances of the city of Chicago.

2900. Non-approval of license—issuance—refunds.] Whenever a license is not approved and the applicant has not engaged in the business or industry for which the license was sought, the license fee paid in advance shall be refunded to the applicant, upon the recommendation of the city collector and the approval of the city comptroller.

Whenever the applicant engages and continues in any business or industry throughout the greater part of the period for which a license has been applied for while such license has not been approved by the department or departments having jurisdiction, and no proceeding or action is pending to close or discontinue such business or industry, the city collector shall recommend the issuance of the license on the last day of the respective license period, and the mayor may issue such license as a "Provisional License" pending the approval or action of the departments having jurisdiction. In such instances the provisions of this section shall be construed to be effective in lieu of other ordinances in conflict therewith.

These statutes make it clear that conformity to all city ordinances is a prerequisite to the granting of licenses and that the heads of the various departments—health, police, fire and building—are responsible for the investigations and inspections required to determine whether all of the sections of the laws "relating to health, safety, sanitation, location, or otherwise regulating the business or occupation have been complied with." The law makes official responsibility highly specific. Section 2547 provides that

"No license shall be issued to any person, firm or corporation to produce, present, conduct, operate, or offer for gain or profit, any theatricals, shows or amusements until the commissioner of buildings, the commissioner of health, the chief fire prevention engineer and the commissioner of gas and electricity shall have certified in writing that the room or place where it is proposed to produce, present, conduct, operate or offer such theatricals, shows or amusements complies in every respect with the ordinances of the city of Chicago relating to their respective departments."[1]

"The City Comptroller shall cause investigations to be made for the purpose of determining whether all persons, firms and corporations required by the ordinances of the city to take out licenses have complied with such ordinances and have from time to time procured same as required by law, and in all cases of evasion of payment or neglect to observe such license provisions he shall serve notices of delinquency and institute proceedings for the collection of same, subject to the directions of the Department of Law."[2]

In cases where any department head indicates

[1] *Revised Chicago Code, 1931*, ch. 49, art. VII, sec. 2547.
[2] *Chicago Council Proceedings*, March 14, 1934, p. 1670.

within ten days that he finds violations he may recommend that a license be issued for not more than thirty days; the responsibility for issuance of such thirty-day license rests with the mayor.

Section 2900 of the city code already quoted provides that where a business has applied for a license which has not been granted because the various departments concerned have not approved, the city seemingly need not take any action to "close or discontinue such business or industry," but the mayor is empowered to issue a "provisional license" on the last day of the year or for whatever duration the licensing period may run. This provision is "effective in lieu of other ordinances in conflict therewith." Thus, it is possible for an establishment legally to operate continuously year after year without complying with ordinances or being licensed. The extent to which this practice generally obtains in the city cannot be fully ascertained in this study; however, it is known, for example, that only 276 motion picture theaters were licensed during 1937 while more than 300 were in operation. Whether they violated the city codes and if so, how serious their non-compliance was, could not be determined. In the instance of one fifth-class hall, which was operated during the year, the proprietor indicated that he was not licensed because his establishment did not have a required fire escape.

Total License Receipts for 1937

Licenses for commercial recreation establishments yield approximately 11.14 per cent of the city's total income for corporate purposes. Of this amount licenses for retail liquor establishments and the additional fees for dance music at these locations represent 96.74 per cent. When retail liquor licenses are not included in the computations, license fees for commercial recreation establishments do not provide an appreciable amount of the city's revenue, only .36 per cent of the city's estimated revenue for corporate purposes in 1937 being derived from this source. The following table indicates the number of establishments and total license fees derived from the various classifications of commercial amusements in 1937.

Type			*Number*	*Amount*
Alcoholic liquor dealer			9,418	$5,606,400.00
Amusements:			646	143,967.90
1 Theaters:				
Legitimate	5	$ 5,750.00		
Motion picture	276	105,825.00		
2 Lecture halls	2	400.00		
3 Concert halls	5	500.00		
4 Penny arcades	3	469.30		
5 Halls	212	10,210.30		
6 Summer gardens	0	.....		
7 Parks	1	720.00		
8 Picnic groves	11	105.00		
9 Roller rinks	5	1,000.00		
10 Athletic fields	7	14,820.00		
11 Wrestling matches	0	.....		
12 Exhibitions	2	160.00		
13 Circuses, etc.	0	.....		
14 Airdromes	1	69.30		
15 Swimming and diving shows	0	.....		
16 Walk-around shows	11	454.00		
17 Games of skill	7	35.00		
18 Mechanical riding devices	98	3,450.00		
19 Pony rides	0	.....		
20 Firework displays	0	.....		
21 All others	0	.....		
Amusements, public places			40	15,937.50
Billiards and pool			580	20,559.40
Bowling alleys			137	7,262.50
Dancing schools			41	1,240.00
Music and dancing in retail liquor establishments			417	30,450.00
Natatoriums			5	75.00
Shooting galleries			14	700.00
Total			11,298	$5,826,592.30

Zoning

In carrying out the authority granted to it by the state legislature "to the end that adequate light, pure air and safety from fire and other dangers may be secured, that the taxable value of land and buildings throughout the city, village or incorporated town, may be conserved, that congestion in the public streets may be lessened or avoided, and that the public health, safety, comfort, morals and welfare may otherwise be promoted," the city council "for the purpose of classifying, regulating and restricting the location of trades and industries and the location of specified industrial, business, residential and other uses," has divided the city into four classes of districts. These are (1) *residence districts,* (2) *apartment districts,* (3) *commercial districts,* and (4) *manufacturing districts.*

Golf courses, tennis courts, music schools and juvenile dancing schools are permitted in the *residential districts.* Recreation facilities in hotels and clubs are permitted in *apartment districts,* in addition to those facilities allowed in residence districts.

In *commercial districts,* in addition to the above mentioned facilities, the following are permitted: airplane hangar or airplane repair shop; amusement park or pier, skating rink, baseball park, or race track, if such park or pier, rink, baseball park, or track is operated as a business for purposes of private profit; convention hall, theater, dance hall, billiard room or bowling alley, if such theater, dance hall, billiard room or bowling alley is operated as a business for purposes of private profit; school for dancing except as hereinbefore classified; horseback riding school, stable for the housing of more than eight horses or cows, livery or boarding or sales stable; airdrome; circus, carnival, carousel, open air or tent show or similar use, operated for purposes of private profit. All of the above are permitted in *industrial districts.* It will be observed that with several exceptions commercial recreation establishments are not permitted save in commercial and industrial districts.

In subsequent chapters in the discussion of the legal aspects relating to specific amusements, it will be observed that frontage consents of surrounding property owners are required where two-thirds of the buildings on both sides of the street in the block are used exclusively for residential purposes.

Building Code

The city of Chicago, in addition to the provisions of the Zoning Ordinance which indicate where recreation establishments may be located, has through the specific powers allocated to it by the State Legislature relating to the construction of buildings, precautions against fire, etc., gone farther and established a Building Code governing all buildings within the corporate limits of Chicago. These ordinances classify all buildings in the city according to use into eight types. For the most part commercial recreation establishments are included in groups four and five. Class four is defined as follows:[1]

"(a) In class IV shall be included every building referred to in subdivisions herein designated as class IVa, class IVb, class IVc, class IVd and class IVe as follows:

(b) In class IVa shall be included every building used as a church or place of worship.

(c) In class IVb shall be included every building having a parish hall, lodge hall, dance hall, banquet hall, skating rink, assembly hall, halls used for the purpose of exposition and exhibition and buildings having a hall for the purpose of instruction, other than school included in class VIII, and also every existing building having a hall used for theatrical purposes at the time of the passage of this ordinance, except such buildings as are included in classes IVa, IVc, IVd, IVe and V.

(d) Class IVc shall include every building hereafter erected used for moving picture and vaudeville shows and similar entertainments, where an admission fee is charged and regular performances are given and where the seating capacity does not exceed three hundred; provided, that every building of class IVc existing at the time of the passage of this ordinance shall comply with the provisions of class IVb.

(e) In class IVd shall be included every grandstand and every baseball, athletic and amusement park.

(f) In class IVe shall be included every building hereafter erected having an arena, amphitheater or enclosed stadium for the purpose of exposition and exhibition where the seating capacity of such building shall exceed 40,000 persons. Where any building coming under this class has a seating ca-

[1] *Revised Chicago Code of 1931,* ch. 25, art. IV, sec. 1247.

REVENUE RECEIVED BY CITY OF CHICAGO
FROM COMMERCIAL RECREATION
ESTABLISHMENT LICENSE FEES
1920 – 1937
REPRESENTS RETAIL
LIQUOR REVENUE
MILLIONS OF DOLLARS
1
2
3
4
5
6
$207,695.40
$234,682.80
$236,627.49
$246,190.69
$233,050.18
$235,595.34
$231,404.46
$236,017.21
$241,932.70
$240,606.64
$231,736.19
$224,142.82
$197,668.75
$1,740,600.00
$1,931,996.40
$4,444,150.00
$4,650,968.32
$5,115,000.00
$5,324,327.27
$5,367,000.00
$5,575,841.72
$5,636,850.00
$5,825,184.75
1920
1921
1922
1923
1924
1925
1926
1927
1928
1929
1930
1931
1932
1933
1934
1935
1936
1937

CITY OF CHICAGO
1937

LICENSE FEES FROM COMMERCIAL RECREATION AGENCIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO TYPE OF ESTABLISHMENT

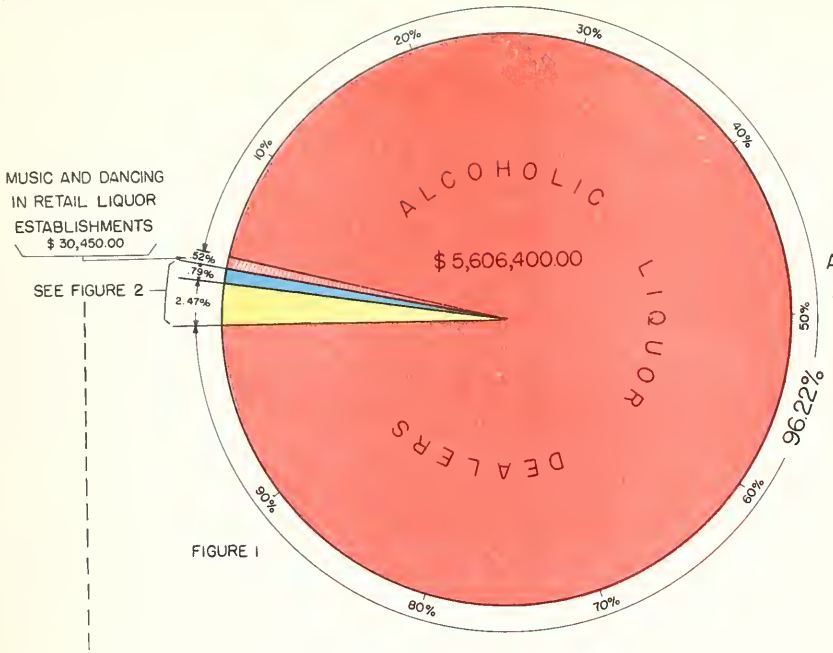
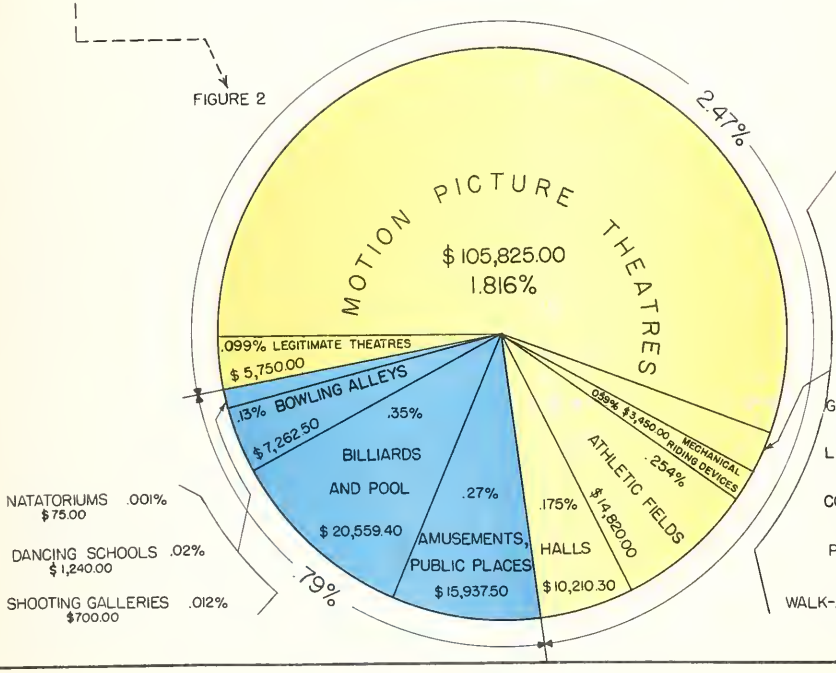


FIGURE 1

FIGURE 2



pacity of less than 40,000 persons it shall be built to conform to the provisions of class IVb."

Class five includes the following:[1]

"In class V shall be included every building which is used as a public theater where an admission fee is charged and in which movable scenery is used, and every assembly hall hereafter erected having a seating capacity of over three hundred and containing a permanent stage on which scenery and theatrical apparatus are used and regular theatrical or vaudeville performances are given, and every theater, assembly hall, building or place with a seating capacity of more than 1,000 persons used for the exhibition of moving pictures; provided, however, that public halls and club halls with a seating capacity of less than six hundred, although occasionally used for theatrical presentations, shall not be considered as public theaters within the meaning of the term as used in this section, notwithstanding the fact that movable scenery is used upon the stages thereof on such occasions, and such public halls and club halls shall not be considered as buildings of class V as herein defined. Such public halls and club halls shall be included in class IV as defined in this ordinance.

Whenever words are used in part IV of this ordinance which relate to the classification of class V buildings into buildings in existence and buildings hereafter erected, such words (unless expressly shown to be intended otherwise) shall be understood as referring to the date July 18, 1905, at which time the original ordinance making such classification was passed by the city council."

Because the use by spectators of the roofs of buildings surrounding baseball parks created a fire hazard, the building code provides that:

"It shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation, whether owner, lessee or manager of, or in possession and control or having charge of, any non-fireproof building within the city to permit the use of the roof of such building, whether free of charge or through admission fee, to any person or persons as a place of observation or for spectatorial purposes. Whenever the roof of any building is used for any purpose whatever, it shall be considered as a story of the building and subject to such restrictions of use and requirements of construction as are provided for the building by the ordinances of the city."[2]

Supplementing the general provisions of the Building Code, specific sections are devoted to detailed and elaborate requirements relating to the major types of recreation buildings and the special building regulations applying specifically to these institutions. In the main these are concerned with precautions against fire—the use of fireproof material, the provision of necessary exits, etc. A complete summary of all such ordinances relating to recreation establishments may be found in ordinances of the city of Chicago in chapter twenty-four, *General Building Provisions*. Inasmuch as the city council is at present considering a revised Building Code to supplant the existing regulations, a detailed citation of these various pertinent regulations is omitted from this study.

Miscellaneous Laws and Ordinances

Individual chapters of this Volume covering specific types of commercial recreation will discuss in detail certain legal provisions concerned therewith. However, because certain enactments are pertinent to the general field of commercial recreation, brief mention of them may consistently be included in this chapter. For example, through an Act approved in 1877 and amended since that time, the state legislature prohibits the employment and exhibition of children in certain forms of amusements:

> It shall be unlawful for any person having the care, custody or control of any child under the age of fourteen years, to exhibit, use or employ, or in any manner, or under any pretense, sell, apprentice, give away, let out or otherwise dispose of any such child to any person in or for the vocation or occupation, service or purpose of singing, playing on musical instruments, rope or wire walking, dancing, begging or peddling, or as a gymnast, contortionist, rider or acrobat in any place whatsoever, or for any obscene, indecent or immoral purpose, exhibition or practice whatsoever, or for, or in any business, exhibition or vocation injurious to the health, or dangerous to the life or limb of such child, or cause, procure or encourage any such child to engage therein. Nothing in this section contained shall apply to, or effect [affect] the employment or use of any such child as a singer or musician in any church, school or academy, or in the teaching or learning the science or practice of music.[3]

The city code makes virtually the same provision regarding the employment of children. In addition, city ordinances prohibit girls under the age of eighteen from distributing or selling "newspapers, magazines, periodicals, gum. . . . . or to exercise the trade of a bootblack. . . . . or to solicit money or other things of value in any street or public place in the city."[4] Boys under the age of

[1] *Revised Chicago Code of 1931*, ch. 25, art. IV, sec. 1351.
[2] *Ibid.*, ch. 55, art. III, sec. 2802.
[3] *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Cahill and Moore, 1935), ch. 38, par. 87, sec. 42a.
[4] *Revised Chicago Code, 1931*, ch. 121, art. IV, sec. 4164.

fourteen are prohibited from pursuing any of the aforementioned occupations before five o'clock in the morning or after eight in the evening, and boys between fourteen and sixteen are required to have employment certificates in the event they work between 8:00 P.M. and 5:00 A.M. in these occupations.

Other laws provide fines of from twenty-five dollars to one hundred dollars when minors are intoxicated or when they "purchase or in any manner obtain unlawfully for personal use any intoxicating liquor." A fine is also assessed by provisions of the city code when:

> Any person, being a minor, who shall play with dice, dominoes, cards, balls, or other articles used in gaming, in any place where intoxicating liquors are sold or given away, or in any pool room, billiard hall, cigar store, bowling alley, or other public store or place, shall be fined not more than one hundred dollars for each offense.[1]

Children under the age of sixteen are not legally permitted on the streets "between the hours of 10:00 o'clock P.M. and 6:00 o'clock A.M. unless accompanied by, and in charge of, a parent, guardian or other proper companion of the age of twenty-one years or more, or unless engaged in some occupation or business which such child may under the statutes of this state legally engage in."[2] The law provides that police officers shall warn any violators of this and a written notice shall be served upon the parent, guardian, custodian or person in control or charge of such child, setting forth the manner in which the ordinance has been violated. Subsequent violations shall result in the case being brought before the Juvenile Court and the parents or guardians shall be subject to a fine of not less than five dollars nor more than one hundred dollars for each offense. It will be noted that in the chapter on bowling and billiards specific provisions relating to minors are included among the laws.

Gambling establishments are not legally permitted in the city of Chicago. Various state statutes provide fines of one hundred dollars to more than five hundred dollars and imprisonment for operating gambling devices "in any room, saloon, inn, tavern, shed, booth or building, or enclosure." Similarly, the law provides heavy fines for the promotion of any lotteries and for policy playing in Illinois. The law indicates furthermore that all gaming contracts are void and that losses by playing of cards, dice or any other game or games, or betting on the side or hands of such as do game, etc., where the amount is more than ten dollars may be recovered by civil action. The law also provides that "whoever shall play for money, or other valuable thing, at any game with cards, dice, checks, or at billiards, or with any other article, instrument or thing whatsoever, which may be used for the purpose of playing or betting upon, or winning or losing money, or any other thing or article of value, or shall bet on any game others may be playing, shall be fined not exceeding one hundred dollars and not less than ten dollars."[3]

Ordinances of the city of Chicago supplement these various state statutes and indicate that every place where gambling is conducted is declared a common nuisance, with fines varying from twenty-five dollars to two hundred dollars for persons who maintain or conduct such establishments and for players as well.

The duty of the police in regard to gambling establishments is indicated in the following section:

> It shall be the duty of all members of the department of police to give information to the mayor of every house, room, yard, boat, vessel, or other structure or premises within the city wherein any such game or device or policy shop tickets or lists are or may be set up, kept or maintained; and such members of the department of police shall take all lawful means to suppress and prevent the playing at or use of any faro table, roulette wheel, or the playing of any game or the use of any device hereinbefore mentioned; and for this purpose when and as often as any such member of the department of police shall have reasonable cause to suspect that any such table, wheel, game or device is set up, kept or maintained, anywhere within the city, he shall forthwith make complaint thereof before some judge of the municipal court and obtain a warrant authorizing him to enter such house, room, yard, boat, vessel, or other structure, place or premises, or any part of the same; and such member of the department of police shall thereupon have authority to demand entry thereto; and any person who shall refuse or fail to open the door or entrance thereto, or who shall obstruct or do anything tending to obstruct or prevent the entry of such member of the department of police to any such house, room, yard, boat, vessel, or other structure, place or premises, or any part thereof, when such member of the department of police shall have a warrant, shall be fined not less than twenty-five dollars nor more than two hundred dollars for each offense.[4]

[1] *Revised Chicago Code, 1931,* ch. 121, art. I, sec. 4156.
[2] *Ibid.,* art. II, sec. 4159.
[3] *Illinois Revised Statutes,* (Cahill and Moore, 1935), ch. 38, par. 298, sec. 126.
[4] *Revised Chicago Code, 1931,* ch. 123, art. I, sec. 4179.

The code also provides that:

No person shall expose any table, wheel or device of any kind whatsoever, intended, calculated or designed to be used for gaming or gambling or for playing any game of chance or hazard, in, upon or along any of the streets or other public places of the city, under a penalty of not less than twenty-five dollars nor more than two hundred dollars for each offense.[1]

The responsibility for the seizure of any "table, wheel, instrument, device or thing used for the purpose of gaming or gambling" is one of the duties of every member of the police department. A fine of from twenty-five dollars to not more than two hundred dollars may be levied against keepers and players of policy games.

All betting, wagering, speculating, pool-selling, or book-making upon any horse race or races or the result thereof, and all gambling and every game of chance of any nature whatsoever, within . . . . the city, is . . . . prohibited.[2]

A fine of from one hundred dollars to two hundred dollars may be assessed for each offense. Similar fines are provided against the owner, lessee or occupant of premises where pools, etc. are sold. The law even provides that:

No person shall sell, offer for sale, give away, display, exhibit, distribute or cause to be distributed any newspaper or other publication, circular, blank, hand bill, pamphlet or other written or printed matter giving or purporting to give information concerning the rates at which bets are being offered or taken in the city or elsewhere, or the odds being given or taken on bets within the city or elsewhere, or advise as to betting or the ratio at which bets should be made upon the result of any trial or test of skill, speed or power of endurance of man or beast, or upon the result of any political nomination, appointment or election. Any person violating any of the provisions of this section shall be fined not less than ten dollars nor more than two hundred dollars for each offense.[3]

As an aftermath of the "Black Sox scandal" in baseball, the state legislature in 1921 passed the following law:

That any person who shall give, or offer to give as a bribe, to any baseball player, football player, or player in any other athletic contest or event, or employee in anywise connected with any baseball club, football club, or other organization engaged in playing, or causing to be played, games of baseball, or football, or other athletic contest or event, which the public or any part thereof are invited or permitted to witness, any money, property or other thing of value, for the purpose of inducing such player or employee to do any act or thing calculated or intended to affect the result of any game of baseball or football or other athletic contest or event played, or to be played by or for such club or organization, and any such employee or player connected with such club or organization, who shall accept, or offer to accept as a bribe, any money, property, or other thing of value in consideration of his promise to do, or his doing of any act or thing calculated or intended to affect the result of any game of baseball or football or other athletic contest, or event played, or to be played by or for such club or organization, shall be adjudged guilty of a felony and on conviction be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for a term of not less than two years nor more than five years.[4]

Both state and Chicago enactments "prohibit fortune telling and other practices where money is obtained on the pretense of exercise of occult powers." The state statutes provide fines not exceeding five hundred dollars and the city code provides a maximum fine of one hundred dollars.

The sale of tickets to amusement places is forbidden by state statute at more than the price printed upon the face of the ticket, and a fine of five thousand dollars for each violation of this provision is included in the statute. In addition, it is unlawful for anyone to solicit upon any street, alley or public place within the Loop for the sale of any tickets. Lounging or loafing near theaters, baseball parks or other places in the city is not permitted, nor is the sale of tickets in front of such places anywhere in the city allowed by law. A fine of from five dollars to fifty dollars for each offense is included in the ordinance.

No person shall engage in any game, sport, amusement, performance or exhibition, or exhibit any machine or show or any animal, or indulge in any acrobatic or gymnastic feats, on any street, public way or sidewalk in the city; nor shall any person give or cause to be given any performance, show or exhibition of any kind or nature whatsoever in any show window or in or on any premises immediately abutting upon any street, public way or sidewalk in the city, which is designed or intended to or which in fact does collect, attract or cause to be collected or attracted a sufficient number of persons to interfere with the passage of the public along the street, public way or sidewalk or upon which such show window or premises abut. Any person violating any of the provisions of this section shall be fined not less than five dollars nor more than one hundred dollars for each offense.[5]

It is also unlawful

. . . . for any person, firm or corporation to sell, offer for sale or keep with the intention of selling, any drugs, medicines, chemicals or therapeutic preparations in connection with any show, entertainment or amusement of any character whatsoever.[6]

Indecent exposure, wearing clothes of the opposite sex, indecent acts, suggestive singing, abusive language, obscene gestures, indecent or lewd

[1] *Revised Chicago Code, 1931,* ch. 123, art. 1, sec. 4181.
[2] *Ibid.,* art. III, sec. 4187.
[3] *Ibid.,* sec. 4193.
[4] *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Cahill and Moore, 1935), ch. 38, par. 64, sec. 1.
[5] *Revised Chicago Code, 1931,* ch. 127, sec. 4247.
[6] *Ibid.,* ch. 36, sec. 1918.

books, plays, pictures, etc., the exhibition of pictures of nude figures, the sale of literature represented as immoral, are included among miscellaneous misdemeanors in the Chicago code. Acts of both the state legislature and the city council deal with the problem of prostitution. These various laws govern not only disorderly houses, but are concerned with solicitation upon public streets or public places; of particular recreational significance, may be cited the provision that:

> It shall be unlawful for any habitual drunkard, or any person known to be a prostitute, or one who aids or abets prostitution, or for any person previously convicted of a felony or prostitution or aiding and abetting prostitution, to assemble or congregate with other persons of any of the foregoing classes in or upon the public streets or other public places in the city, or to loaf or loiter in or about or frequent the premises of any place where intoxicating liquors are sold. Any person violating any of the provisions of this section shall, upon conviction thereof, be subject to a fine of not less than five dollars nor more than two hundred dollars.[1]

It is unlawful to purchase fireworks in the city of Chicago without a permit from the commissioner of police. Employees handling fireworks in the city of Chicago are required to have a certificate of fitness for which a fee of ten dollars is charged by the city collector. No fireworks or explosives can legally be sold to minors under the age of eighteen. The manufacture of fireworks is unlawful in the city of Chicago, and public display of fireworks is allowed only on a permit by the mayor.

Many other legal controls of which lack of space does not permit detailed mention include: laws relating to the sale of tobacco to minors, wearing of hats in public places, exhibiting of dangerous animals, sale of fire arms, and provision of public drinking facilities in public places.

Law Enforcement Agencies

In addition to the Police Department, which is responsible for the enforcement of all ordinances of the city of Chicago and for compliance with provisions of the state code, the following officials and their departments are specifically charged by various ordinances with responsibilities relating to commercial recreation establishments: Commissioner of Buildings, Fire Commissioner, Commissioner of Health, Commissioner of Streets and Electricity, and Commissioner of Compensation. For certain specific activities a Billiard Commission and an Athletic Commission have also been created. This latter committee was empowered to levy a three per cent tax on certain athletic events, including boxing and wrestling, but this tax has not been operative in the city of Chicago for several years. The Mayor is ex officio Liquor Commissioner for the city.

The state of Illinois provides a State Liquor Commission, State Athletic Commission, and State Racing Commission, all of which are charged with certain specific functions and duties governing the regulation of their respective sports and agencies. These will be discussed in more detail in later chapters.

Comparatively few private welfare or reform agencies concern themselves with the operation of commercial recreation establishments in the city. However, it is worthy of note that the Juvenile Protective Association, particularly because of the relationship between juvenile delinquency and certain forms of commercial recreation, has taken an active part in calling to the attention of the proper law enforcement bodies more flagrant violations of the various ordinances. Similarly, the Committee of Fifteen, concerned with problems of commercialized vice in Chicago, has conducted investigations and submitted reports indicating the tendency of certain conditions in retail liquor establishments and dance halls to encourage the growth of prostitution.

Law Enforcement

It has been said that a law is only as good as its enforcement; consequently no matter how ideal a community may appear on the basis of its statutes and ordinances, whether it measures up to this ideal depends largely upon the degree of respect for the enforcement of law and order evidenced through compliance with the provisions of these various statutes. Similarly, it may be said that the integrity of governmental officials must be judged not only by the vigor with which they enact laws but more particularly by their activity in enforcing compliance and in prosecuting violators. It is not possible in a study of this kind to make a complete analysis of the extent of observance and enforcement of the various statutes, ordinances and regulations governing the operation of Chicago's commercial recreation establishments. That there is not complete enforcement is known; that in

[1] *Revised Chicago Code, 1931,* ch. 126, sec. 4220.

some instances this non-compliance with the law is more than passively accepted by governmental officials charged with the responsibility is also commonly alleged. In the ensuing chapters some evidences of this situation will be presented.

There are two common attitudes toward law enforcement, particularly as it concerns commercial recreation establishments. One attitude takes the position that if we are to have laws they are to be enforced. The other favors what is known as a "wide-open town," and would disregard individual ordinances and statutes, except when conditions become so obnoxious that sufficient public indignation is aroused and "something has to be done." There are in the United States today many examples of this latter type of community. In some communities the degree of law enforcement and observance varies in different sections. Occasionally just before elections the more notorious transgressions of city codes are suppressed to provide a "veneer of righteousness" for the public officials charged with law enforcement.

It may be said that so far as licensing is concerned there is no general public interest. However, the great mass of proprietors of recreation establishments who do abide by the law, secure their necessary licenses and comply with the various rules and regulations pertinent thereto, take the position that if one must secure a license all must secure a license. In some instances pressure from this group is sufficient to require compliance, particularly when the amount of the fee or tax is sufficient to cause the withdrawal of marginal competitors who cannot afford a license.

In a democratic form of government where the will of the majority is interpreted through the ballot box, continued tolerance of law violation on the part of public officials can be attributed only to the ignorance or indifference of the general public by whom these officials are elected. It is only logical that if the greater part of the population, exercising their voting duties and privileges, were opposed to the countenancing of such practices as operating without a license, disregarding closing hours, transgressing building codes, etc., they would transmit such disapproval by the election of officials who shared their views and possessed sufficient integrity to secure such compliance. "Public apathy" is largely responsible for whatever derelictions public officials may manifest in their dealings with commercial recreation. That there is no unanimity of attitudes on the part of the so-called better elements in the community is indicated in the fact that only recently one of the leading clerics of the city condemned his congregations for actively promoting various types of gambling within their churches at the same time that they were complaining of lawlessness and violation of the city and state codes against gambling, etc. It is evident that consistency as well as "eternal vigilance" may be required as the price of liberty and a genuine democratic way of life.

CHAPTER III

MOTION PICTURE THEATERS

According to recent estimates, in 1937 one out of every ten inhabitants of the United States attended each day some motion picture theater. More than two and one-half billions of dollars are invested in the moving picture industry (including the 18,800 movie theaters) in this country. An annual expenditure of ninety million dollars for wages and salaries is included in the more than one hundred and fifty millions of dollars spent during 1937 in the production of motion pictures in Hollywood. With the exception of radio entertainment, no form of mass recreation attracts a more continuous following, not only in the United States alone, but throughout the rest of the world as well. The social implications of motion pictures as a form of entertainment and education can readily be appreciated when it is remembered that one out of every three individuals in the total attendance is under the age of eighteen. If one figures an average attendance time of one and one-half hours (and this is low), Americans spend the equivalent of 2,300 years each day in motion picture theaters. Motion pictures, from the invention of the first kinetoscope by Thomas Edison in 1889 through the days of the nickelodeon, the silent motion picture theater, and, in the past decade, the introduction and rapid development of the sound picture, have offered a striking and colorful chapter in American history viewed from whatever angle you may choose, whether educational, moral, esthetic, social or recreative, or whether you are thinking in terms of popular mores, fashions, taste, hero worship, police administration or race relations. At any rate they cannot be ignored by police or artists or musicians or sociologists or recreation planners. They have so entered into the very texture of American social life that they figure seriously as a subject of social politics and are becoming a focal point in the processes of social control.

In discussing the development of the motion picture industry in the United States, Steiner in his chapter on recreation in the famous report on *Recent Social Trends* commented upon the censorship aspects of the industry, the legally created governmental censor boards of one type or another, the movements for self-regulation established by the industry itself, and also the effects of public opinion as a means of censorship. He indicated that public opinion would probably develop into the most effective form of social control of the motion picture as a social institution. That this has already been realized to some extent in the few years since the publication of that report is evidenced by the result of the crusades for "clean pictures" instigated by various groups since that time. While some of these were purely local in origin and scope, the more outstanding movements, among them the Catholic Legion of Decency inaugurated in 1934, became nationwide in scope and exerted a profound influence, for a time at least, upon the type of film productions. The very number and intensity of these activities for censorship or control testify to the social significance which attaches to this form of recreation.

Apparently social control of moving pictures is reaching out beyond suggestions for governmental censorship and mass boycott, in the direction of research and publication of special studies of the motion picture industry and local planning as a means of eliminating the less desirable aspects of moving pictures. The role of educational institutions in developing taste and power of discrimination is also becoming more readily accepted. Partly for these reasons, partly because of improved technique and a better comprehension of the potentialities of the "silver screen" it may be said that in general the calibre of motion pictures in the past few years has shown marked improvement. One of the most significant presentations during the 1937 year was the color cartoon picture *Snow White* which in its opening weeks far exceeded even the most enthusiastic predictions as a box-office attraction. Indeed it marks a new triumph and sets a new record both financial and artistic. Within recent years an increasing interest in news-

reels and pictures portraying events of the day has manifested itself; in some instances the controversial aspect of the subject matter of these pictures has subjected them to even more rigid censorship than is bestowed on the regular main fiction attractions.

During recent years the motion picture industry has reflected general improvement in business conditions, with a marked upturn in patronage from the low years of 1931 and 1932.

Approximately five per cent of all of the theaters operating in the United States during 1937 were located in Illinois, and of these more than one-third were situated within the corporate limits of the city of Chicago.

Today moving picture theaters in Chicago attract more than twenty million patrons annually. The development of the motion picture theater in Chicago, it is said, provides one of the most colorful episodes in the growth of American business. While pictures "which moved" were included in amusement centers (particularly "circuses" housed in permanent buildings), before the turn of the century, it was not until November 18, 1901, that an amendment to the licensing ordinance was passed which took cognizance of "picture machines such as mutoscopes, kinetoscopes, cinematographs and other picture devices." A license fee for places of amusement where such devices were used was fixed at $100 per year. In 1903 the amount of the annual fee was raised to $200. During these early days of moving pictures, they were generally not the major attractions in the establishments in which they were located, and derived their patronage rather from the appeal to curiosity than because of the dramatic scenes which they portrayed. In 1907 Carl Laemmle opened the White Front Theater on Milwaukee Avenue, one of the first locations in Chicago devoted solely to moving pictures. Music was furnished by a piano played by a former messenger boy named Sam Katz. From such humble beginnings Mr. Laemmle rose to the presidency of the Universal Pictures Company and Mr. Katz progressed to important executive positions with Paramount Pictures.

The nickelodeon, as the five-cent moving picture house was known, was regarded as a bonanza; this is attested by more than 340 nickelodeons in the city of Chicago at the end of 1908, slightly more than a year from the date of the Laemmle opening. Among the popular productions of that time were *The Great Train Robbery* and *The Fire Brigade*. In 1909, as the result of pressure brought by religious and civic improvement groups in the city, Chicago established the first official censorship of moving pictures in the United States. It is interesting to note that in the decade following, this question of censorship was the subject of constant controversy. Newspaper articles indicate that in 1914, when censorship seemed particularly autocratic and unreasonably restrictive to the theater owners, permission to exhibit Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, was granted only after the censor had consulted prominent citizens. It was during this second decade of the century that Chicago made its bid as a picture-producing center. The Essanay Motion Picture Company on the north side of the city, in which, among others, Gloria Swanson and Wallace Beery first gained fame, was organized in 1906. Until the industry was shifted to California in order to obtain sunlight over a longer season, Chicago was the outstanding picture-manufacturing center of the whole United States.

While over a series of years the general public was being conditioned to accept motion pictures, they were used merely as "fillers" in programs of the then much more popular form of theater, the vaudeville show. However, as the quality of the pictures improved, they gradually replaced the vaudeville features as the major attraction. As a result of keen competition for patronage among the various owners, emerged the vast especially designed palatial moving picture theaters, with large symphonic orchestras and tremendous stage shows featuring the country's outstanding vaudeville entertainers. By 1926 this type of entertainment had become prevalent in all of the larger movie houses throughout the city.

It was in that same year, however, that a new period in theater entertainment began, not only in Chicago but throughout the entire world. On October 15, 1926, the first picture with sound, *Don Juan,* with John Barrymore in the leading role, was exhibited in this city. In less than two weeks 75,000 people paid more than $100,000 to witness the first thirty-four performances of this picture, thereby far exceeding any previous records

for motion pictures in Chicago. While this picture provided only synchronized musical accompaniment on the screen, genuine talking pictures soon followed, and in a comparatively short while almost all the neighborhood theaters in the city were equipped to provide the latest type of motion picture presentations.

Even before the business depression, neighborhood theaters were providing complete programs with the major attraction supplemented by musical and novelty shorts. This cut severely into the business of the larger theaters with regular stage shows. Partly therefore as a result of such competition, when unfavorable economic conditions set in and patronage diminished, the stage show gradually disappeared from most theaters.

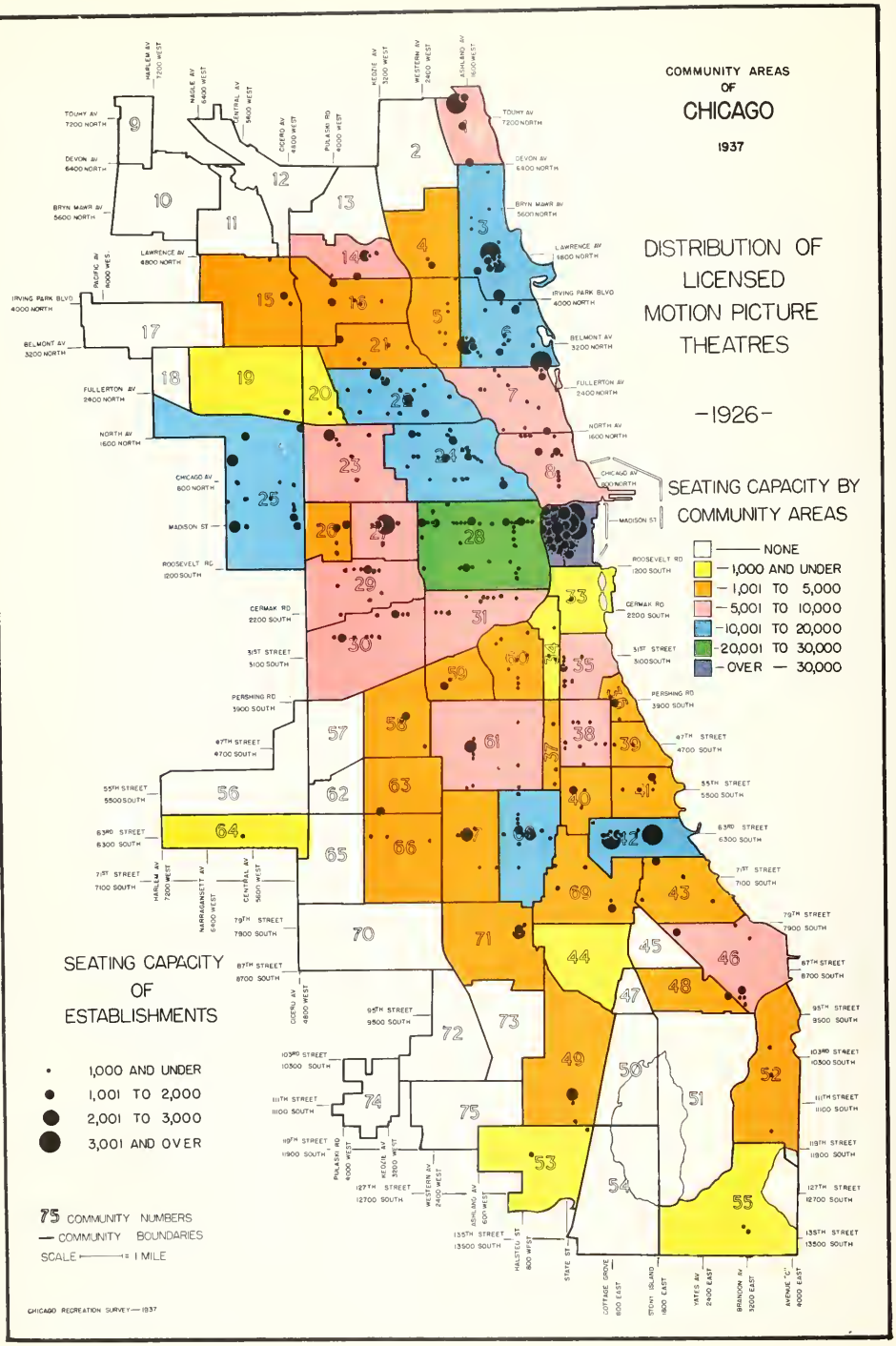
Various devices have been employed from time to time to stimulate patronage of movies in Chicago. So-called "amateur nights," Charleston contests and similar features in which non-professional entertainers competed for cash prizes and other awards have had their day and proved more or less effective. Some of them such as "Kiddies' Barrels of Fun" violated the child labor laws. The distribution of free kitchenware, dishes, cosmetics and candy has also served as a patronage stimulant, especially in smaller theaters in some sections of the city. "Screeno" and "bank night" too were employed for a time. However, so many theaters offered bank nights that in order to secure an advantage individual theaters were forced to increase the amount in the "bank" to such a high point that box-office receipts were not sufficient to warrant the continuation of the plan; yet the individual owner seemed unable to discontinue this "white elephant" because of possible loss of patronage to his competitor. Therefore, the majority of the theater owners were only too willing to discontinue this "stimulator" when bank night was outlawed.

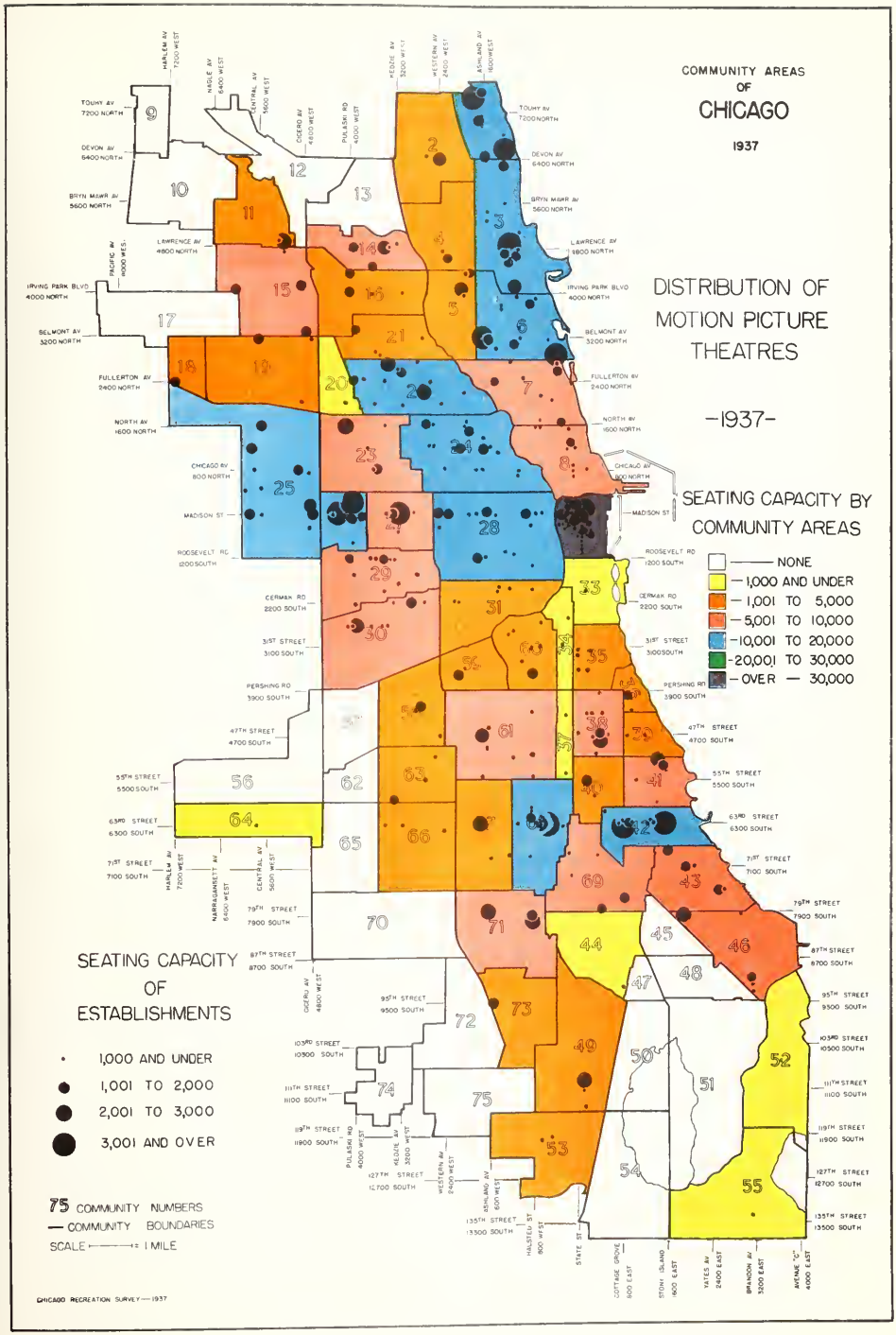
During very recent years the double feature has taken its place as an inducement for patronage. The double feature was employed for a time in the larger outlying theaters as well as in smaller neighborhood houses during the early depression years, yet not to the extent which prevails today. From motion picture advertising in a metropolitan newspaper it appears that 161, or approximately 85 per cent of the 190 theaters advertised, have been providing double features; and several additional theaters have been known to feature as many as three film attractions with novelty "shorts," and free dishes to boot. It is probable that if not-advertised theaters were included in the compilation the percentage of double-feature theaters would be even greater.

The popularity of radio entertainment is said to be responsible in some degree for the double-feature vogue in movie theaters. As an increasing number of surveys of recreational preferences are released, with radio showing decided gains as a "favorite recreation," some observers hold that it has become necessary for commercial amusement proprietors to provide stronger inducements to get the customer out of his home and away from the radio. Whether this is literal fact or wishful thinking cannot be determined from data available for this study. But undoubtedly increased activity in participating sports, the sudden vogue of home games and other forms of recreation have combined to offer some competition to movies.

Since the latter part of 1937 an organized movement led by Parent-Teacher groups and women's clubs of Chicago and its suburbs has been campaigning vigorously to force the elimination of the double-feature motion picture program. Most of the objections of the various groups against double bills are concerned with what they regard as the unhealthful effect, particularly on children, of sitting in a theater for four or five hours. But it is also argued that with double features it is seemingly difficult to present two good attractions, and that inferior pictures are too often included as part of such shows. Moreover such heavily loaded amusement features tend to hinder the child from developing interest in active as contrasted with mere passive or vicarious recreation. As yet no action has been taken by the city government. It is generally predicted, however, on the basis of past experience that as economic conditions improve and the individual has more money to expend for amusement purposes, the double bill will inevitably disappear.

Parallel with this agitation over the double feature runs the controversy which has been carried on for many years over the claim that pictures are usually released in other cities far in advance of Chicago openings. In certain quarters


COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
DISTRIBUTION OF
LICENSED
MOTION PICTURE
THEATRES
-1926-
SEATING CAPACITY BY
COMMUNITY AREAS
NONE
1,000 AND UNDER
1,001 TO 5,000
5,001 TO 10,000
10,001 TO 20,000
20,001 TO 30,000
OVER 30,000
SEATING CAPACITY
OF
ESTABLISHMENTS
1,000 AND UNDER
1,001 TO 2,000
2,001 TO 3,000
3,001 AND OVER
75 COMMUNITY NUMBERS
COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES
SCALE 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY—1937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COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES
SCALE 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY — 1937

this situation is regarded as a definite affront to the city. Those who hold this view point out that visitors to Chicago have usually seen all of Chicago's motion picture attractions weeks and often months before they are shown in this city, with the embarrassing result that even the larger motion picture theaters cannot be suggested as entertainment. Such a situation, they aver, is inconsistent with the spirit of "Keep Chicago Ahead." Again, the broadcasting of "song hits" from the new motion pictures arouses a temporary public interest in many pictures which, due to delayed showings, cannot be satisfied in Chicago even while the songs are still more or less the rage. Radio previews have had a somewhat similar effect, because usually only enough of the story is presented to stimulate the listener to want to see the whole picture. Some trade publications attribute the delayed "first runs" in Chicago to the fact that the major control, through booking arrangements and ownership of almost all the larger Loop theaters, is vested in one chain (with the single exception of one film company which releases its films in the theater which it operates). It is apparently more profitable both to the exhibitor and to the motion picture distributor, whose income is usually determined by a percentage of the box-office receipts, if all pictures are released first in the Loop and wherever possible in the largest houses where the total patronage will be the greatest, and at the highest rates of admission. Probably this practice has resulted from sound experience. At any rate where good pictures have been released in big outlying Chicago theaters they have rarely or never attracted as large a total patronage as similar pictures released with an orthodox first run in the Loop.

In licensing motion picture theaters, the city ordinances place them in the first amusement class. During 1937, 276 licenses were issued to those first-class amusements identified as motion picture theaters. Six motion picture theaters licensed in 1936 and 8 not licensed since 1935, together with more than 20 others operating without any record of their having been licensed during any of these three years, make up a total of more than 300 theaters which provided motion picture entertainment during 1937. The exact number operating at any one time fluctuated throughout the year, due to the fact that some closed for alterations while several new theaters were opened during the year.

The total seating capacity of licensed movie houses in 1937 was 303,207. The 14 theaters which had been licensed in the previous two years, but for which the City Clerk's license books showed no record in 1937 were reported as having 15,636 seats. If the other theaters for which the license records provided no information be included, the total seating capacity of Chicago's motion picture theatres reaches approximately 338,000 or one seat for each nine residents of the city. As compared with the situation which Professor Burgess found in his 1926 survey, the seating capacity of Chicago moving picture theaters in 1937 had remained approximately the same while the actual number of theatres declined about 20 per cent. These trends appear more clear when the figures are broken down. The number of seats in licensed motion picture theaters in 1937 ranged from 255 to 4,029. This latter figure is for the Uptown Theater, which was also the largest theater in Chicago in 1926, when the smallest house seated 209. The average number of seats in the 276 establishments for which 1937 licenses were issued was 1,099 seats; the median 865. These compare with 880 and 720 seats respectively in 1926. In 1926, 34.28 per cent of the theaters had less than 500 seats, compared with 19.20 per cent in 1937; 74.48 per cent had less than 1,000 seats in 1926, and 64.13 per cent in 1937; the number with over 2,500 seats amounted to 3.61 per cent of the total in 1926, and 6.88 per cent in 1937.

Grouped according to seating capacity, a comparison of motion picture theaters in 1926 and 1937 reveals that a large number of theaters with seating capacities of less than 1,000 were eliminated in the interim, but that the construction of a few theaters with seating capacities of more than 1,500 included a sufficient number of seats to compensate to some extent for this reduction.

Nearly one-tenth of the motion picture theaters licensed in 1937 are located in the Loop (area 32), and contain over ten per cent of the total seats in Chicago. Only eleven community areas have more than 10,000 seats; seventeen have less than 2,500; and twenty-three areas contain no movie houses. A closer study of this distribution

of motion picture theaters reveals that since 1926 the number of theater seats in the Loop district has shown a marked decrease. This is partially due to the fact that in 1926 many licenses for what are regarded now as strictly legitimate theaters were included because they were designated as being used for motion picture purposes also. However, a number of motion picture theaters in the 1926 Loop total have since been torn down or the location has been remodeled for other business purposes. A significant drop in the seating capacity of theaters in community area 28, the near west side, is the result of the disappearance of many hold-overs from the post-nickelodeon transitional days. The accompanying maps indicate the distribution of theaters and the number of seats in each community area in 1926 and 1937, and for the latter year, the relationship between population and seating capacity in the individual area.

Seating capacity	*1926*	*1937**
Not over 350	116	49
Not over 750	92	82
Not over 1,000	81	77
Not over 1,500	51	47
Not over 1,750	10	15
Not over 2,100	17	18
Not over 2,300	2	3
Not over 2,500	5	6
Over 2,500	14	19
Total	388	316

*Including unlicensed theaters.

Based upon the 1934 census the relationship between theater seats and population reveals a range from 127 persons per theater seat in area 44 to 11 theater seats for each person in area 32. These figures, however, are not to be taken too seriously because although area 32, the Loop, has a total permanent population of only 3,530, this district is the major motion picture center and serves all sections of the city; on the other hand, while 23 areas had no theaters at all, in most instances they were adjacent to community areas which contained theaters easily accessible to both areas. Although the significance of the large outlying "bright light" night center theater has diminished since the elimination of stage shows, etc., nevertheless these theaters still draw a patronage from all parts of the general section of the city in which they are located; for this added reason the number of inhabitants of the particular community area in which such theaters are located is of comparatively little social significance.

Theater ownership in Chicago is divided among (1) four large "chains" which control more than one-third of all licensed theaters; (2) approximately thirty other smaller companies or private individuals with from two to five theaters; and (3) one hundred and twenty licensees operating only one theater each. In 1937 the largest chain operated within the city thirty-six theaters for which licenses were issued by the City Clerk. These included a total of 87,785 seats, which constituted 29 per cent of the total seating capacity in licensed establishments. With three exceptions each of the theaters in this chain had a seating capacity of more than 1,000. Fourteen of the largest theaters in the city are included in this chain. The majority of the stock in this organization is owned by one of the major film companies. Another film company operates 17 theaters in Chicago.

Rates of admission to motion picture theaters in Chicago cover a wide range. It has already been pointed out that the amount of license fees for class-one amusements is based on two factors, one of which is the maximum rate to be charged for admission. On the licenses for the first half of 1937, the maximum admission rate for 185 theaters, or 67.03 per cent, was specified as 25 cents; for 68, or 24.64 per cent, it was 49 cents; for 22, or 7.97 per cent, one dollar; and for one theater, two dollars. Corresponding percentages for 1926, exclusive of the legitimate theaters, are 70.96, 21.64, and 6.85, respectively. During the second half of 1937, one of the 25-cent group advanced its rate to 49 cents and one in the dollar group dropped to 49 cents; two 49-cent rates decreased to 25 cents, and the $2.00 rate was reduced to $1.00. Five of the eight large Loop movie theaters regularly charge 35, 55, 65 and 75-cent rates; two charge 35, 55, and 75 cents, and one 25, 35, 45, and 55 cents. The latter three and one in the first group have stage shows.

In July, 1937, the Survey field staff investigating admission prices found 15 cents to be the prevailing matinee rate outside the Loop. Two theaters charged ten cents (one only on Thursday, Friday and Saturday); 57 charged fifteen cents; 13,

twenty cents; 9 twenty-five cents; and 5, thirty cents. The evening rate was 25 cents at 44 theaters; 30 cents at 8; 35, 40 and 55 cents at 4 each; 15 cents at 3; and 20 cents at 13. The usual rate for children at both matinee and evening performance was 10 cents.

More recent investigation of eight theaters on the near west and near north sides showed 10-cent adult charges for three, and 15 cents for three; another charged 10 cents days and 20 cents evenings; and the eighth, 10 cents before 6:30 P.M. Two charged children 5 cents; these last were not licensed during 1937. In general, it may be said that the higher rate prevails at the larger theaters controlled by the various "chains." The lowest rates are in effect in those neighborhoods where the economic status of the prospective patrons limits their expenditures for entertainment and amusement purposes. Many of these houses represent the less modern type of furnishings and equipment, with limited seating capacities.

Of the total theaters licensed in 1937 the records of the City Clerk indicate that 19 were classified as vaudeville and motion picture theaters. These nineteen combination vaudeville and motion picture theaters are located in twelve different community areas. They are among the largest theaters, with a total of 56,600 seats, making an average of 2,978, as compared with the motion picture average of 1,099. Their maximum legal admission rates also are relatively higher, 49 cents the maximum for seven theaters and one dollar for the other twelve. License fees in 1937 ranged from $750.00 for one to $1,200 for seven. The total license receipts of $18,900.00 comprised 17.86 per cent of the total motion picture theater fees for 1937.

During 1937 only four of the vaudeville-motion picture theaters, all located in the Loop, provided complete daily stage shows and vaudeville bills along with regular motion picture attractions. These were the Chicago, Oriental, State and Lake, and Palace Theaters; the Palace Theater was the last theater to be erected in Chicago exclusively for vaudeville. A varying number of theaters outside of the Loop (never more than 10) offered stage shows certain days of the week, usually Friday, Saturday and Sunday only; and several others intermittently added vaudeville for Sunday performances only. As already stated, the maximum rates of admission were found in the Loop establishments providing stage entertainment.

In addition to the theaters showing motion pictures only and those with vaudeville and stage shows, there were also five theaters licensed in the city during 1937 which provided burlesque entertainment as well as moving pictures. These included one establishment with 1,500 seats, and four much smaller theaters with 434, 284, 277 and 263 seats respectively. All of these establishments were located within an area of three blocks on South State Street, which was also the address of amusement devices of the penny arcade and walk-around type, one of the city's largest taxidance halls and several of the less highly regarded liquor establishments providing "entertainment." The rates of admission varied from 15 cents, which was the usual charge in the four smaller establishments, to 75 cents charged for some of the special midnight shows at the Rialto, the largest house of this type in the city.

By far the greater percentage of the patronage of these establishments is comprised of men. However, an appreciable number of women also frequent these shows. Advertising in the front of each of these theaters specifies "no children admitted" or "for adults only." The obvious appeal of these establishments is provided in the various strip-tease acts included in every performance. The type of patronage is determined to some extent by the admission charges. A large share of the total number attracted to the smaller establishments comes from transients in the numerous cheap hotels of the district. In the clientele of the larger theater the average patron is much more affluent. The size of this theater, together with its admission charges, necessitates and permits a much more elaborate type of show comparable in many respects to the stage show prevalent in other theaters. It has been observed on some visits to this theater that many of the patrons appear to be high-school and college students.

During 1937 some of these establishments were closed simultaneously by the Police Department because of the obscene type of show which was being presented; others closed voluntarily before court action. However, after varying intervals they have all reopened.

With Hollywood recognized as the film capital of the world, and with more than 75 per cent of all motion picture film being produced in this country, it is not surprising that practically all of the films shown in Chicago are of American origin supplemented by some of the better English-made pictures. However, that the number of residents of the city of foreign extraction, supplemented by a smaller group interested primarily in questions of cultural understanding is sufficient to make the presentation of foreign pictures profitable is indicated by the fact that during 1937 several theaters produced pictures in the French, German, Russian, Polish, Swedish and Italian languages. One Loop theater showed only these foreign pictures although they were usually accompanied by English subtitles. Many of the theaters located in areas of concentration of foreign groups either provided a regularly scheduled presentation of pictures in the native tongue or included such attractions intermittently. These showings have developed a regular permanent following. In addition to providing for such special groups as the foreign element, many Chicago theaters provide special accommodations for the hard of hearing and other handicapped people of the city.

In addition to the laws and statutes governing motion picture establishments, the City Council has from time to time passed ordinances relating to the pictures exhibited at these theaters. These regulations have been brought together in a pamphlet prepared by the Police Department for distribution to exhibitors, distributors, theater owners and other interested groups. The following ordinances are included:

1952. Permit required to exhibit moving pictures.] . . . . . It shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation to show or exhibit in a public place, or in a place where the public is admitted, anywhere in the City of Chicago any picture or series of pictures of the classes or kinds commonly shown in mutoscopes, kinetoscopes, cinematographs, and such pictures or series of pictures as are commonly shown or exhibited in so-called penny arcades, and in all other automatic or moving picture devices, whether an admission fee is charged or not, without first having secured a permit therefor from the Commissioner of Police.

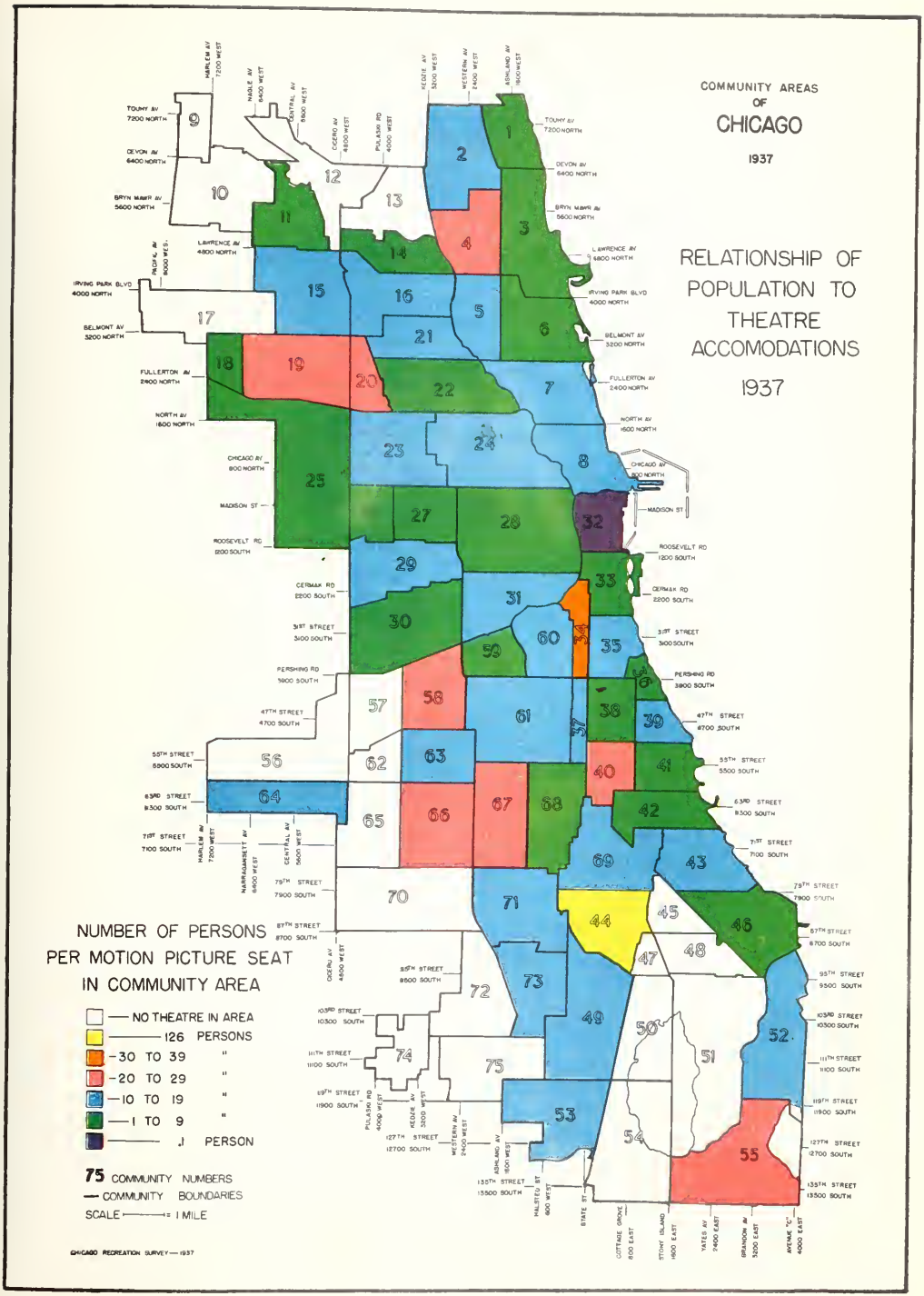
It shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation to lease or transfer, or otherwise put into circulation, any motion picture plates, films, rolls or other like articles or apparatus from which a series of pictures for public exhibition can be produced, to any exhibitor of motion pictures, for the purpose of exhibition within the city, without first having secured a permit therefor from the Commissioner of Police.

1953. Application for permit.] . . . Before any such permit is granted, an application in writing shall be made therefor, and the plates, films, rolls or other like apparatus by or from which such picture or series of pictures are shown or produced, or the picture or series of pictures itself as shown or exhibited, shall be shown to the Commissioner of Police, who shall inspect such plates, films, rolls or apparatus or such picture or series of pictures, or cause them to be inspected, and within three days after such inspection he shall either grant or deny the permit. In case a permit is granted it shall be in writing and in such form as the Commissioner of Police may prescribe.

1954. Immoral pictures—permit not to be granted.] . . . . If a picture or series of pictures, for the showing or exhibition of which an application for a permit is made, is immoral or obscene, or portrays depravity, criminality or lack of virtue of a class of citizens of any race, color, creed or religion and exposes them to contempt, derision or obloquy, or tends to produce a breach of the peace or riots, or purports to represent any hanging, lynching or burning of a human being, it shall be the duty of the Commissioner of Police to refuse such permit, otherwise it shall be his duty to grant such permit.

In case the Commissioner of Police shall refuse to grant a permit as hereinbefore provided the applicant for same may appeal to the Mayor; such appeal shall be presented in the same manner as the original application to the Commissioner of Police. The action of the Mayor on any application for a permit shall be final.

Special permit.] . . . In all cases where a permit for the exhibition of a picture or series of pictures has been refused under the provisions of section 1954 hereof because the same tends towards creating a harmful impression on the minds of children where such tendency as to the minds of adults would not exist if exhibited only to persons of mature age, the Commissioner of Police may grant a special permit limiting the exhibition of such pictures or series of pictures to persons over the age of twenty-one years; provided, such picture or pictures are not of such character as to tend to create contempt or hatred for any class of law abiding citizens.


COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
RELATIONSHIP OF
POPULATION TO
THEATRE
ACCOMODATIONS
1937
NUMBER OF PERSONS
PER MOTION PICTURE SEAT
IN COMMUNITY AREA
NO THEATRE IN AREA
126 PERSONS
30 TO 39 "
20 TO 29 "
10 TO 19 "
1 TO 9 "
.1 PERSON
75 COMMUNITY NUMBERS
COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES
SCALE = 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY — 1937

1955. Penalty.] . Whenever a special permit has been issued for the exhibition of a picture or series of pictures limited to persons of twenty-one years or over, as provided for in the preceding section, it shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation exhibiting same to allow any persons under the age of twenty-one years to enter the place where same is being exhibited or to remain in said place while any part of said picture or series of pictures is being shown. Any person, firm or corporation violating the provisions of this section shall be fined not less than ten dollars nor more than twenty-five dollars for each offense, and the admission of each person under twenty-one years of age, or permission to remain of such person under twenty-one years of age, shall constitute a distinct and separate offense; and in addition thereto the Mayor may, in his discretion, revoke the license of any person, firm or corporation conducting a theatre where the provisions of this section are violated.

1956. No transfer of objectionable films—confiscation—penalty.] In case a permit shall be refused for any such moving picture plates, films, rolls or other like articles or apparatus from which a series of pictures for public exhibition can be produced, it shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation to lease or transfer the same to any exhibitor of moving pictures or otherwise put same into circulation for purposes of exhibition within the city.

1958. Fee for permit.] . . . The permit herein provided for shall be obtained for each and every picture or series of pictures exhibited, and shall be required in addition to any license or other imposition now required by law or ordinance. The fee for the original permit in each case shall be three dollars, and for each additional permit one dollar, which fees shall be paid to the city collector before the permits are issued. Such permit shall be granted only after the motion-picture film for which said permit is requested has been produced at the office of the inspector of morals in the city hall for examination or censorship.

1959. Notice of transfer or lease—delivery of permit.] . . . . . When a permit to show a picture or series of pictures is once granted to an exhibitor, the picture or series of pictures may be shown by any other exhibitor; provided, that the written permit is actually delivered to such other exhibitor and that a written notice of the transfer or lease to such other exhibitor is first duly mailed by the transferee or lessee to the Commissioner of Police. Any number of transfers or leases of the same picture or series of pictures may be made, provided always that the permit is actually delivered to the transferee or lessee and that such written notice be first mailed to the Commissioner of Police. Said written notice shall contain the name and a brief description of the picture or series of pictures, the number of the permit and the location of the building or place where the transferee or lessee proposes to exhibit such picture or series of pictures. The exhibition by the transferee or lessee of any permitted picture or series of pictures, without first mailing such notice, shall be considered a violation of this article, and a separate offense shall be regarded as having been committed for each day's exhibition by a transferee or lessee of each picture or series of pictures, without the mailing of such notice.

1960. Posting of permit.] . . The written permit herein provided for shall be posted at or near the entrance of the theatre, hall, room or place where any permitted picture or series of pictures is being exhibited at such a place and in such a position that it may easily and readily be read by any person entering such theatre, hall, room or place at any time when any such permitted picture or series of pictures is being exhibited whether in the day time or in the night time. The exhibition of any such permitted picture or series of pictures without the posting of the permit as herein provided shall be considered a violation of this section, and a separate and distinct offense shall be regarded as having been committed for each day's exhibition of any such permitted picture or series of pictures without the posting of the permit as herein provided.

1961. Penalty.] . . Anyone violating any of the provisions of this article shall be fined not less than fifty dollars nor more than one hundred dollars for each offense. A separate and distinct offense shall be regarded as having been committed for each day's exhibition of each picture or series of pictures without a permit. Any person violating or neglecting to comply with any provision of this chapter, where no other penalty is provided, shall be fined not less than five dollars nor more than two hundred dollars for each offense.

In order to effectively fulfill the duties assigned by law to him, the Commissioner of Police delegates much of the work to what is known as the Division of Moving Picture Censorship, which includes five moving picture censors at a monthly salary of $205.00, two moving picture machine operators at $110.55 per week, and five theatrical exhibition investigators at $200.00 per month. The 1937 budget of the city of Chicago provided

$34,737.20 for this purpose. According to the Civil Service Commission all of the above positions are classified and governed by civil service regulations of the city. The last examination for moving picture censors was held in 1930; the theatrical censor positions were created in 1937. The former group is composed entirely of women at the present time, while all of the investigators are men.

When exhibitors wish to show any film within the city of Chicago, they must submit it for review by the Censor Board at a private showing at the Central Police Station, Eleventh and State Streets. Notations are made by the individual censors of any parts of the film which seem to violate any city ordinance. After the showing the board meets and discusses the picture. It recommends either: (1) that a permit be granted without any changes; or (2) that certain sections of film be eliminated; or (3) that no permit be granted. In the first instance a permit is automatically issued. However, if the owner of the film objects to cutting out such sections as the board suggests, he may appeal to the Commissioner of Police, who then either accepts the decision of his board, views the picture himself, or chooses someone else to witness the showing on his behalf. This also applies in instances where the complete film has been denied a permit, because the Censor Board rules that it violates particularly section 1954 (quoted above). If the Commisioner of Police rules against granting a permit, the Mayor has the power to overrule the decision. However, in view of the fact that the Board of Censors is the specific agency of the Commissioner of Police, and the Commissioner of Police in turn is appointed by the Mayor, there are very few appeals from decisions of the Censor Board.

According to a memorandum, "Standards or Rules for Deletions Adopted by the Board of Moving Picture Censors of the City of Chicago," the following items are noted in reviewing pictures and in determining their suitability for showing in the city of Chicago.

Criminality

Gun play—This is to include drawing gun, aiming and shooting, where the intent is to murder, rob or intimidate, or to commit any other crime or misdemeanor.

Fight scenes—with knives, guns or other deadly weapons, to be reduced to a minimum. Also throwing weapons with criminal intent—planting bombs, dynamite or other explosives for the purpose of destroying life or property.

Other criminal acts—such as theft, holdup, robbery, slugging, housebreaking, criminal assaults with any weapon—binding, gagging, torture scenes, branding of human beings. Abducting of men, women or children for any purpose. Safe breaking, where a method is shown, poisoning (by any means), unlawful restraint, obstructing trains, lighting fuses or fuses burning. Methods of hiding crime. Mutilating bodies. Wearing masks by criminals.

All violent fight scenes—to be reduced in number. Acts, such as tearing face, choking, biting nose, ears, hands—gouging out eyes—knocking head against the floor or wall. Gruesome scenes of bloody and torn faces of dead and wounded. Attempts to extort confessions by torture or threat of torture.

Subtitles containing threats—to kill, lynch, torture, mutilate, unlawfully detain for ransom, or threat to criminally assault a woman.

Scenes—showing criminal methods which would make crimes easy, attractive or heroic.

Criminals shown in heroic roles or where sympathy is aroused in such a way as to excuse the act.

Crimes committed for revenge, or for the purpose of righting a wrong, or the extenuation of crime for any purpose.

Mob scenes for the purpose of riot, lynching or burning of a human being, or for the purpose of liberating a prisoner or obstructing justice.

Assaults upon Officers of the Law—overcoming or restraining an officer.

Methods of smuggling drugs or weapons to prisoners.

Scenes of hanging or electrocuting. Also scenes of bodies after such acts.

Immorality

Illicit relations between men and women, including all scenes and subtitles indicating such relationship, where such pictures are given a general permit.

Seduction and attempt to seduce.

Men struggling with women with immoral intent—and woman's face depicting fear or terror.

Forcible kissing or embracing—where such acts indicate immorality or sensuality. Prolonged or passionate kissing scenes or acts.

Locking doors for the purpose of restraint for an immoral purpose; sensual looks (or other acts indicating restrained passion or sensual desire).

Men or women rubbing hands over face or any portion of body of the opposite sex in a lustful manner.

Vulgar display of figures, such as low gowns where there is indecent exposure, tight gowns and bathing suits for the purpose of indecently exploiting the figure. Also scenes where men are indecently clothed, where figure is offensively displayed.

Offensive orgy scenes—scenes of depravity and drunkenness, where men and women are shown together or separately. Lewd and immodest dancing.

Rape or *Assault.*

Scenes or subtitles indicating that rape or assault has been committed.

Discussion of illegitimacy—exploiting an illegitimate child in pictures for general distribution.

Holding up the sacrifice of a woman's virtue as laudable or excusable.

Disparagement of the institution of marriage—advocating "free love."

Adoption of a life of immorality justifiable or extenuated.

All scenes or situations depicting or indicating immoral relations between men and women.

Subtitles showing that an immoral life for women is an easy way, or the only way under stress of circumstances.

Men gambling for the possession of a woman in order to obtain ransom or for immoral purposes.

"*First Night*" scenes and all discussion of the question of consummation of marriage.

Intimate bedroom scenes between husband and wife (underwear), where such scenes are suggestive of sex.

All scenes or subtitles indicating a house of prostitution, pandering, white slavery, soliciting by either men or women, or views showing prostitutes.

Pre-natal and childbed scenes. Subtitles describing them. All obstetrical scenes.

Propaganda pictures featuring or discussing venereal diseases, abortion, birth control, eugenics and other similar subjects.

All nude figures of men, women and children where sex is shown.

All nude statues and pictures of the nude where sex is shown or posture is indecent, or where such statues or pictures are shown for the purpose of indecent suggestion.

Vulgar or suggestive acts or postures or indecent or blasphemous subtitles, or undue profanity.

Bed room and bath room scenes of an offensive or vulgar nature.

Men and women in bed together, where such scenes suggest indecency, or sex.

Pictures or scenes tending to establish false standard of conduct, which would tend to have a harmful effect upon the young.

Themes and scenes where a member of the clergy is represented as weak, immoral, ridiculous or criminal.

Scenes or subtitles which would reflect upon any race, color, creed or religion.

During 1937, 7,618,000 feet of film were inspected and 14,720 permits were issued. This number compares with the all-time record of 8,147,000 feet of film reviewed in 1929 when 20,892 permits were issued. In 1937 the total number of films in which sections were deleted was 237. Permits were issued in 1937 for 16 pictures for adults only. The total revenue of the Division was $97,000, which was derived from the $3.00 fee charged for each of the 14,720 original films for which permits were issued and from the one dollar charge for each copy of the master film. This fee is usually paid by the distributor. The theatrical exhibition investigators are charged with enforcement of the statutes covering motion picture operation and legitimate theaters as well. In 1937 four South State Street burlesque houses were closed temporarily, ostensibly as a result of these investigations.

CHAPTER IV

LEGITIMATE THEATER, CONCERT STAGE AND OPERA

Legitimate Theaters

General

Within the past two decades the legitimate theater has receded from its place as the most popularly accepted form of dramatic expression to a comparatively minor position; for it has been supplanted by the motion picture, especially since the introduction of the talking screen, and more recently also by the radio. From more than 5,000 legitimate theater houses distributed throughout the country in 1850, the number of theaters devoted to the presentation of stage productions has decreased to such an extent that in 1937 it is estimated there were scarcely more than 200. The majority of these were located in large metropolitan centers of the nation. Forty-four of this total constituted "Broadway"; but even this represented a drop of 35 theaters in the New York area alone in the past decade involving a reduction in seating capacity from 80,000 to 52,000. Inasmuch as the entire legitimate theater revolves around New York, it is significant that within the ten-year period the number of Broadway attractions declined from 195 plays to 90, of which more than 75 per cent were what is known as "flops." "The New York theaters grossed the unimpressive sum of $14,000,000 for box-office receipts."[1]

In its analysis of the business aspects of the theater, *Fortune Magazine* brings out the various factors which have affected the theater and increased the speculative factors which have always been associated with it. It points out that:

"Twenty-five years ago a producer could take a run-of-the-mill play, engage a star, and count on the result to pull in enough customers to get his show started; thereafter might follow a long and profitable road tour. Today he produces under the so-called 'hit system,' which is not a system at all (Broadway likes the word) but a simple label for the fact that the public will patronize only good shows. The risks of production have been thereby increased. As for the road, the bulk of its one-time 5,000 theatres have been turned to other uses, mostly to the cinema, and where shows were once produced mainly with the road in mind (in the eighties a producer expected to lose money in New York and make it in the provinces), today exactly the reverse is true. Practically speaking there is no United States Theatre any more. It is a New York Theatre now, and if the New York audiences don't like a show there is no place to move it to but to a theatrical warehouse. This is true despite the fact that the road now seems to be making a comeback, because unless a show is a hit no touring companies will be sent out.

"It is hardly necessary to point out that the cinema has also stolen at least half of the New York theatre's former patrons. The remaining audience is an exacting one, and the critics have made a corresponding adjustment in their standards. The result is that there is no room for mediocrity, and plays that would have made money ten or twenty years ago now close with an alarming celerity. Thus did twelve productions collapse in the single month of November, 1937, with a consequent loss of nearly $300,000.

"The other major reason why the modern producer is in a position vastly changed from that of his predecessor stems directly from the decline of Theatre as popular entertainment. In the days when people went to see a play good or bad, because there wasn't much else to do, theatrical real estate was extremely valuable, with the result that Theatre-business was primarily a real-estate operation. The Shuberts, Erlangers, Chanins, and others were producers as well as theatre owners—as the Shuberts still are—but the thing was not primarily the play but the bricks and mortar and rentals of theatre property. It was a very tangible business, with a very tangible basis, and now it isn't; the modern producer proceeds usually on the basis of a piece of paper—a play. The difference is one of emphasis but it is important.

"In sum, then, these four reasons—the emergence of the hit system, the lack of road profits as

[1] *Fortune Magazine*, February, 1938, p. 66.

'insurance' against the reaction of New York, competition of motion picture and radio, and increased costs due in part to unsound real-estate values and in part to such factors as the rise of trade-unionism in the Theatre—have increased the risks of production."

In summarizing the two seasons 1934 to 1936, it may be said that of 215 plays, the total number produced in those years exclusive of musicals or revivals, only 27 were definite hits while 174 plays actually lost money. The total profit of the 41 which were successful was $3,835,000, while $2,590,000 was sunk in the unsuccessful ventures; this left a balance of only $1,245,000 as the margin of gain in the production of these 215 plays or an average of slightly less than $6,000 for each play produced during the two years.

So far as the 1935 season is concerned it has been asserted that the stage was operating on a reduced scale (primarily because of economic conditions), but that good plays were fairly numerous, productions were of high standard, and people were glad to attend the theater again. Social and political drama made what amounts to sensational progress during the year.[1] During 1936 business in the theater improved to some extent, economic improvement being reflected in the longer runs of many productions and in the increased patronage of the lower priced accommodations at most of the more popular shows. In this same year, which was judged the best since 1929, the privately promoted productions showed a trend away from the drama of social protest.

During recent years there has been an increasing number of so-called summer theaters, located for the most part in the New England resort sections, but also found to a lesser extent in other summering places. They represent the closest approach to the old-fashioned stock company, afford opportunities for experimental work in the theater, and also provide employment during the off season for a considerable number of actors.

While the motion picture theater has supplanted the legitimate stage as the primary center of dramatic entertainment and was indeed the chief cause of its decline, it now is responsible to some extent for the revival and continuance of the legitimate theater; it has recognized the value of legitimate attractions as a basis for motion picture plays; accordingly encouragement has been given to the legitimate theater through financial support by the various motion picture producing companies, who frequently provide the necessary backing in return for the motion picture rights. In 1936 slightly less than one-third of all Broadway productions were financed by the moving picture industry. In some instances where such rights had not been secured prior to the stage showing of some of the more popular hits, sums as high as $200,000 have been paid for screen rights.

The legitimate stage no longer contributes a very significant portion of the revenue derived from the 10 per cent amusement tax levied by the federal government; and this despite the fact that almost every ticket sold for a legitimate attraction, except those sponsored by the federal government, is subject to the tax since the price of the ticket is nearly always over the 41 cent minimum. However, when collections on all amusement ticket sales from December 1, 1936 through November 30, 1937 showed an increase of $2,516,552 over the corresponding period for the year previous, the legitimate theater contributed its proportionate share of the added amount. The 1937 total of all amusement tax revenue reached the highest level since the pre-depression years, namely, $20,974,027. Led by the veteran producer, William A. Brady, legitimate stage promoters are advocating that the legitimate theater be exempted from this tax to save it from bankruptcy. They argue that whereas 90 per cent of American theaters are in the hands of receivers, other countries are actually subsidizing their theaters; hence that our government should make some effort to prevent a financial collapse of the American stage. While pointing out that the amount derived by the government from legitimate theaters is only at best a few hundred thousand dollars at the present time, although in 1919 it reached eighty million dollars, the theatrical folk suggest that the value of a tax on legitimate theaters as a source of revenue is not sufficient to warrant its continuance especially while the object of the tax is losing ground so rapidly. At the present time it is not possible to make any prediction regarding the disposition of this appeal nor regarding the proposal advanced by representatives of leading American dramatic, operatic and concert artists who advocate

[1] *American Yearbook*, 1935.

that because of the policies of many other countries toward American artists this country should establish definite quotas specifying the number of leading foreign artists who could perform in this country during any given period, and propose reciprocal agreements with other countries as of definite value to the American artist.

Among the more prominent hit attractions of the 1937 New York season has been the production *Pins and Needles,* dealing with conditions in the clothing industry. One of the unique features of this production is the fact that the cast is composed of a little theater group of Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Another hit of the current season is a modern adaptation of the ever popular Shakespearean tragedy *Julius Caesar.*

Federal Theater

In 1935 for the first time in the history of the United States the federal government undertook the active sponsorship and encouragement of theatrical enterprises. Although during the two previous years entertainers of one type or another had provided a variety of amusements under the auspices of several of the state and local relief administrations, the federal theater project, established as a unit of the Works Progress Administration, recognized the needs of the theatrical unemployed on a national basis and as a result set up a program embracing two objectives: (1) the opportunity for the professional actor to earn a living, and (2) the provision of entertainment particularly for that section of the public which is economically unable to patronize the regular commercial theater. While the primary center of this activity was in New York City, where even in the best days of the theater there had always been a comparatively high number of unemployed members of the profession, approximately half of the $13,500,000 allocated for the federal theater was expended outside of the New York district. An average of 12,500 were employed during 1936, of whom 7,100 were in communities away from the New York metropolitan producing area. The types of production included vaudeville, minstrel shows and an occasional circus in addition to legitimate theatrical attractions.

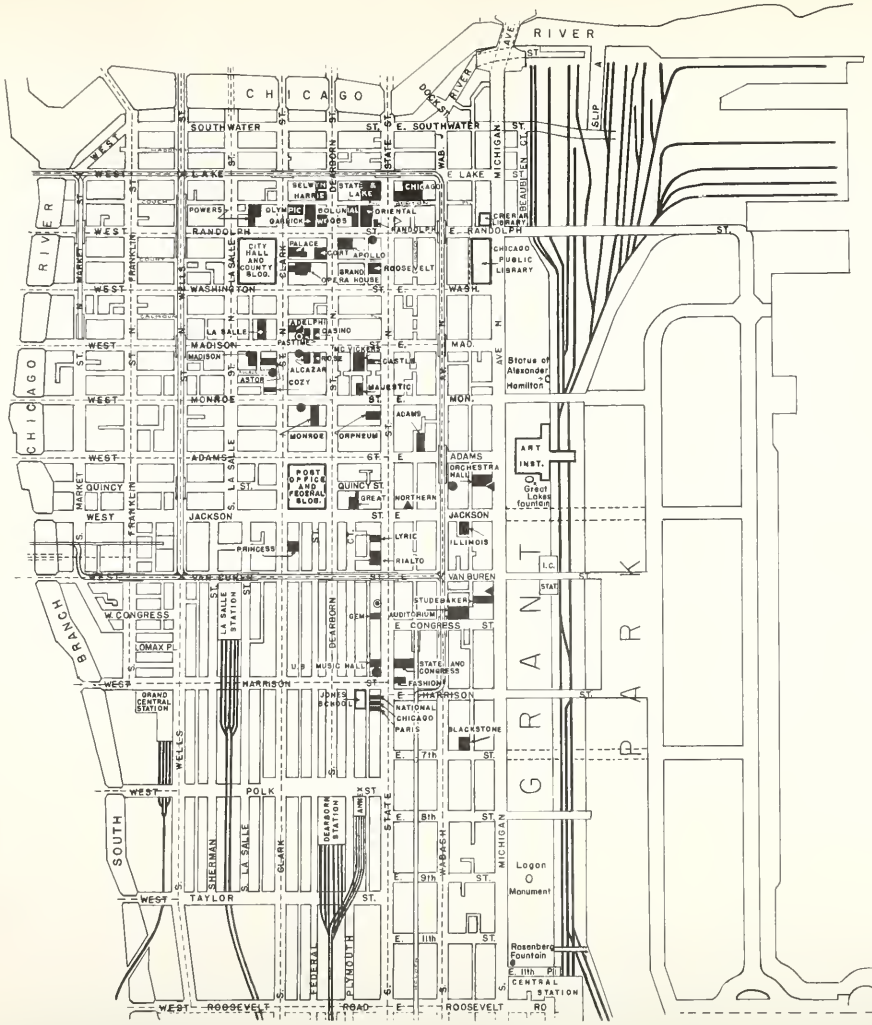
In some of the larger cities, notably New York, by the end of the first year experiments were conducted by the federal theater in bringing the theater to the people by providing mobile stages on which performances could be produced in the parks of a city and occasionally in the more populous rural districts. Within a year of its start this innovation had attracted 1,800,000 persons, none of whom was required to pay an admission charge. Significantly enough, three-fourths of this number had previously never witnessed a legitimate play.

As the federal theater became more firmly grounded, the quality of productions, particularly in the more established theater districts of the country, showed such improvement that many of the productions compared favorably with some regular commercial attractions. With nominal admission rates an increasing patronage is evidenced in the slightly more than two years of its existence; moreover, with such well-known dramatists, actors and directors as Elmer Rice and Orson Welles associated with its development at one time or another, the method of presentation and type of production offered in many instances have been in fields previously unexplored by the legitimate stage. Occasionally the activities of certain groups within the federal theater have resulted in the entire project being condemned; recently, for example, a satirical adaptation of certain congressional speeches relating to housing offended those quoted, who thereupon decried the expenditure of federal funds for propaganda purposes. Criticism of this type has in the main been limited to the New York division of the federal theater.

Legitimate Theater in Chicago

The first licensed theater in the city of Chicago was opened in October, 1837, shortly after the issuance of the city's charter in which the common council was empowered: "to regulate, license or prohibit the exhibition of common showman, and of shows of every kind, or the exhibition of any natural or artificial curiosities, caravans, circuses or theatrical performances."[1] Because it seemed to need the revenue, the council assessed an exorbitant charge of $125 for this first theatrical license. The first theater was improvised from the dining room of the Old Sauganash Hotel, and for six weeks the residents of Chicago were afforded the opportunity of witnessing drama and farce per-

[1] *First City Charter,* 1837, sec. 28 (6).



COMMUNITY AREA NUMBER 32

LOOP

DISTRIBUTION OF LICENSED RECREATION FACILITIES

Bowling alleys ●

Penny arcades ⊙

Halls (class 5) △

Cancert halls ▲

Theatres ▬

—1926—

NOTE Symbols do not indicate specific address in some instances

formed by an eastern stock company. When in 1838 the theatrical firm asked the city council for a license, "thirty-five citizens signed a petition urging the council to refuse a license on the ground that a theater would add to the fire hazard and cause an advance in the premium rate"[1] on the cluster of wooden buildings around it. When the matter was referred to a council committee, one member of the committee of three appointed to decide the question opposed the theater against the two upholders. He was Grant Goodrich, devout Methodist, and later one of the founders of Northwestern University. He stated that "a permanent theater was a menace to moral welfare; that the 'tendencies of the performances of modern theaters were grossly demoralizing, destructive of principle,' and 'nurseries of crime.'"[2] "However, the council granted a year's license for $100, and the troupe came on for the season of 1838."[3]

In 1839 the *Chicago American* wrote: "We are aware that theaters are obnoxious to a respectable and intelligent part of every community, but they are permitted, and must be permitted, on the ground of general expediency, if for no other reason."[4] The first dramatic criticism in the Chicago press was provided in this same paper one year later. From that time on the theater in Chicago grew constantly, both in the number of theaters and in the attractions offered. For many years the legitimate stage, opera and burlesque grew in popularity together; two weeks after the theatrical section of the city was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1871 stage attractions were again being offered. While within recent years the theatrical district has been more or less confined to the Loop, during the earlier days there were many neighborhood theaters on the south, west and north sides of the city, and many flourishing stock companies are reported for this period.

According to an article[5] written by Frederick Donaghey, drama editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, the legitimate stage attained its greatest popularity in the 1920's; he reports that the year 1926-1927 "was marked by the exhibition of more plays and shows of one kind and another than in any previous stage year in the annals of the city." It was in the fall of 1926 that the talking picture made its entry into the theatrical world, and taking cognizance of this fact and the high realty values of properties occupied by theaters, Mr. Donaghey predicted that "by 1935 the Loop will not contain so much as one theater devoted to the spoken drama."

In the 1926 season there were 9 theaters which offered seasons varying from 13 to 50 weeks. The Apollo with 50 weeks of musical productions led, followed by the Olympic with 41, La Salle 39, Garrick 32, Great Northern and the Princess with 30, Studebaker with 21, Four Cohans with 20 and the Auditorium with 13 weeks. This was the year in which *The Miracle* was shown in Chicago, and more than 50 per cent of the 47 major attractions contributing to those 276 weeks of the theater were of the musical and "follies" type of show. In 1927 the effects of the sound pictures were becoming felt, and several of the legitimate theaters transferred to this type of attraction. During the early years of the depression the theater in Chicago did little more than exist, most of the theaters remaining dark or offering short runs of a few attractions. In 1930-1931 there were 85 theatrical engagements; in 1931-1932, 75; in 1932-1933, 50; in 1933-1934, 43; and in 1934-1935, 41. In 1935-1936 the total had decreased to 21; and in 1936-1937 there were 29.

During the calendar year 1937 there were 146 weeks of the theater in Chicago comprising 23 individual productions in 5 theaters. One theater, the Harris, was occupied for the entire 52 weeks, with *First Lady* being presented during January, succeeded by a straight run through the summer of *You Can't Take It With You,* which finally left the city after a 56-week run taking it into the early part of 1938. The Selwyn, Erlanger and Grand were all open more than 25 weeks, and based upon perhaps somewhat optimistic estimates in the trade magazine *Variety,* a weekly average of more than $15,000 was grossed in the legitimate theater in Chicago during the year. Two productions, *The Ziegfeld Follies* and *Red, Hot and Blue* had top admission charges of $3.85; 5 shows had maximum admission rates of $3.30; 14 of

[1]Paul Gilbert and Charles Lee Bryson, *Chicago and Its Makers,* (Chicago: Felix Mendelsohn, 1929), p. 77.
[2]Henry Justin Smith, *Chicago's Great Century, 1833-1933* (Chicago: Consolidated Publishers, Inc., 1933), p. 23.
[3]Paul Gilbert and Charles Lee Bryson, *Ibid.*
[4]*Ibid.,* p. 78.
[5]Burns Mantle, *Best Plays of 1926-1927* (New York: Dodd Mead & Co., 1927, Chicago supplement.

$2.75; and 1 of $2.20. Assuming that $1.50 represents an average admission charge for all legitimate and musical comedy productions during the year, it is estimated that 1,500,000 theater-goers attended Chicago shows during 1937. This represents a definite increase over several previous years.

Most of the more successful productions were headed by well-known names in the theater. However, *You Can't Take It With You,* with the longest run and with gross receipts approximating one-fourth of the 1937 total, had no outstanding leads, its chief attraction being the Pulitzer prize play itself enacted by a well-balanced cast. A Jewish theater of three weeks was included in the season's offerings and the Theater Guild provided a well patronized series at the Erlanger. The majority of the more successful productions presented were Broadway hits, either with the original company or road troupes. Only two productions during the year (both of which had runs of less than two weeks), averaged less than $7,500 per week in gross receipts. Based upon a 10 per cent tax on all tickets it is estimated that the federal government profited to the extent of between $100,000 and $200,000 during the Chicago 1937 theatrical season.

Theaters used for legitimate stage attractions are grouped together with motion picture theaters as class-one amusements, and are therefore subject to the licensing provisions discussed in the preceding chapter.

The following theaters were licensed as first-class amusements during 1937: the Erlanger, with a seating capacity of 1,356; the Grand Opera House with 1,200; the Eighth Street Theater with 1,185; the Selwyn with 1,150; and the Harris with 1,081 seats. The maximum admission charge indicated on the license was $3.00.

The *Illinois Revised Statutes, 1935*[1] as a means of regulation and control provide: "That any person who, prepares, advertises, gives, presents, or participates in, any obscene, or indecent drama, play, exhibition, show or entertainment, and every person aiding or abetting such act and every owner or lessee or manager of any theater, moving picture house, garden, building, room, place or structure, who leases or lets the same or permits the same to be used for the purposes of such drama, play, exhibition, show or entertainment, or who assents to the use of the same for any such purpose, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, shall, for the first violation of this Act, be subject to a fine of not less than $25.00 nor more than $200.00 or imprisonment in the county jail or house of correction for not to exceed one year, or both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court; and for each subsequent offense, the defendant shall be subject to a fine of not less than $50.00 nor more than $500.00, or imprisonment in the county jail or house of correction for not to exceed one year, or both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court."

In the past several years the enforcement of this law has resulted in the shutting down of only one production* in Chicago. This was the popular Broadway success *Tobacco Road,* which encountered similar action in other cities.

Little Theater

Although the Little Theater movement represents primarily private rather than commercial recreation, since for the most part the motive involved is the pleasure and experience in the theater afforded the members of the players' groups, these establishments do provide facilities for spectators and in some instances lease Loop theaters for their more outstanding attractions. The little theaters in Chicago will be discussed in more detail in Volume III, *Private Recreation in Chicago.* However, a brief mention of them may consistently be included in this presentation.

Hull-House Theater represents the oldest establishment of its type in the city, having been organized in 1898; it now comprises three separate groups of 170 individuals, who annually produce approximately 15 plays. Rates of 35, 50 and 75 cents prevail at the Hull-House Theater which seats 230. The Institute Players of the Jewish People's Institute, composed of 125 amateur and semi-professional actors, have an annual schedule of seven full-length plays, all of which are shown at least three times; occasionally one of them requires no less than twelve performances to accommodate all who wish to see it. A wide diversity of plays is produced by this group, and its Repertory Theater each Wednesday evening plays to capacity houses at prices of 25 and 50 cents. The

[1]Cahill and Moore, ch. 38, par. 459, sec. 224½.

*Exclusive of burlesque shows mentioned in preceding chapter.

Chicago Mummers Theater, located in Rogers Park, has its own building in which to stage its productions. This group also leases the Chicago Woman's Club Theater for its more outstanding plays. The troupe numbers approximately one hundred. The Chicago Repertory group has played to more than 200,000 people since its initial performance in 1934, at prices from 50 cents to $1.50 and at season subscriptions from $1.00 to $3.00. Its purpose is to present at popular prices plays of highly artistic quality which deal with problems of the majority of people. The Repertory Group is regarded as representing the more radical element in the Little Theater movement in the city. The Loyola Community Theater with a company of 100 members has a seating capacity of 1,000 and produces each year 12 major performances. Having an annual subscription list of 1,000 patrons, this theater plays to capacity houses and is altogether self-sustaining.

The Playwrights' Theater presents eight performances of one full-length play per month, with an attendance restricted by seating capacity to 100 at each showing. This group comprises a number of former professionals and includes some of the city's outstanding radio artists. The Douglas Smith players present more than ten full-length plays and approximately 60 one-act plays during an average season. During 1937 attendance averaged 150 at each performance in an auditorium with a maximum seating capacity of 175. The Chicago Workshop Theater produces its three full-length plays and a number of one-act plays in the Hull-House Theater, although it has no relationship to the theater groups at that settlement. Productions draw an average attendance of 200. The Y.M.C.A. college produces five full-length plays and ten one-act plays each year in its auditorium seating 325. An attendance of between 7,000 and 10,000 was recorded during the 1937 season. Attendance at the Chicago Little Theater Guild, housed in the Central Branch of the Y.W.C.A., ranges from 150 to 400 at the several performances it gives each year. Organized in 1931, the Braille Theater Guild of Chicago has rapidly progressed to a position of national reputation. None but blind persons appear in the casts of the various productions of this group, which in 1937 included *The Late Christopher Bean.* This group is self-supporting, and frequently is engaged by clubs and other organizations throughout the city on a basis of $50.00 for one-act plays and $100.00 for full-length productions.

The Kenneth Goodman Sawyer Memorial Theater, although an integral part of the Chicago Art Institute and as such rated as a public institution (*See* Volume I, p. 157 of this Survey) in a sense belongs with the Little Theater group, for some of its players appear or have been associated with them, and its productions bid for general public patronage as well as for that of members of the Institute.

During 1937 the number of students at the Goodman Theater School totalled one hundred, of whom two-thirds were women. In addition to the four or five plays presented; with the number of performances ranging from five to seven, special children's productions were staged at the Goodman each Saturday afternoon from October to April. Tickets ranged from twenty-five cents to one dollar, and capacity audiences composed of children from all over the city usually attended these plays.

The various universities in the Chicago area, notably Northwestern, with its School of Speech, are all active in the Little Theater movement, and usually attract capacity crowds to performances sponsored by them. Likewise, the annual plays of the various high schools throughout the city, when considered as one unit, attract a sizable total each year.

Industrial groups, church organizations, women's clubs and other similar groups also attract a considerable patronage for their annual productions; naturally, a substantial portion of attendance at this type of offering is composed of members and friends of the organization and relatives of the performers.

Federal Theater in Chicago

During 1937 a total of 212,500 Chicago theater-goers paid admissions to the various attractions provided by the federal theater to supplement the commercially sustained productions presented in Chicago. Calculated on a basis of 7 performances per week, the twelve productions during the season provided 94 weeks of entertainment. The majority of the plays were staged in

the Great Northern and Blackstone Theaters with seating capacities of 1,350 and 1,102, respectively. Rates of admission range from a minimum of 25 cents up to $1.10.

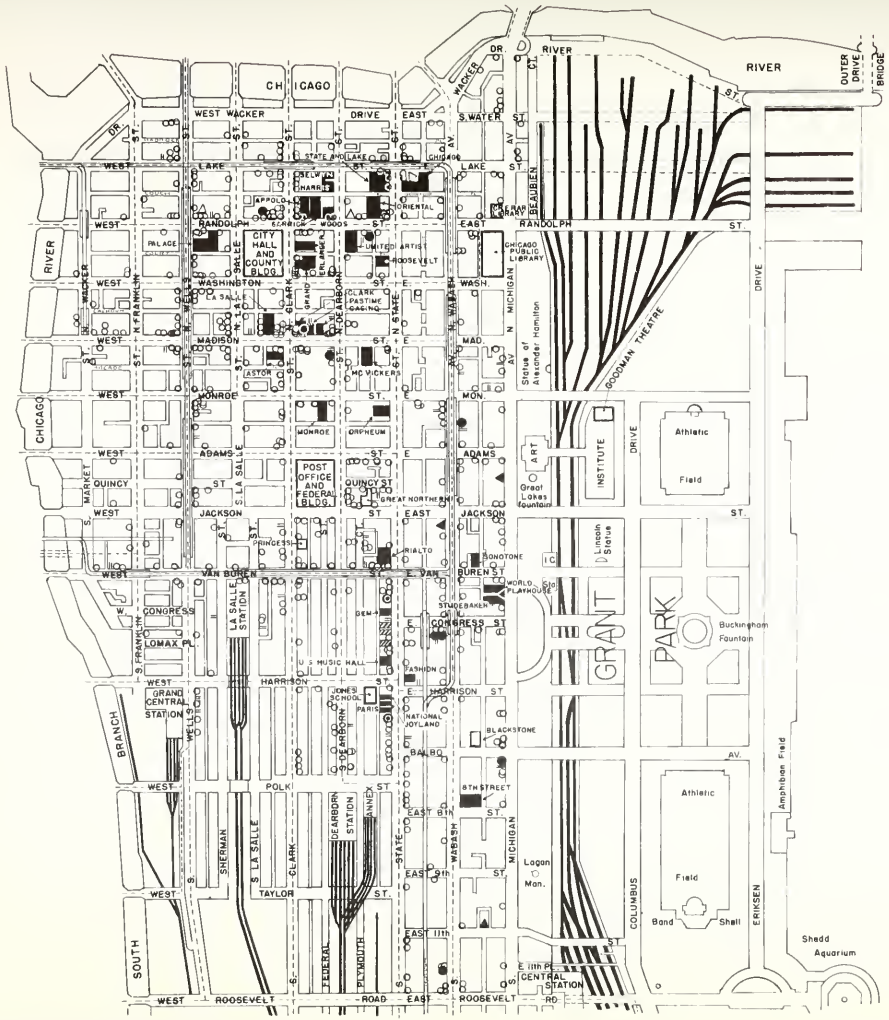
Most of the cast of the federal theater units are unemployed performers who have qualified for relief assistance. They are paid on the security wage basis established by the Works Progress Administration, with a maximum of $94 per month. However, leading players of the units are secured from outside this group, and occasionally a "name" dance team or specialty artist is added to the regular company; these performers and the directors are paid in excess of the regular scale. The two major companies include an approximate average throughout the year of 150 performers, of whom two-thirds are men. In addition to the regular stock companies of the two theaters there is also a special somewhat less active negro company. This group constituted a large portion of the cast of the *Mississippi Rainbow,* a "musical" with an all colored cast which had the second largest run of all the Chicago federal productions. The negro number in the ballet presented recently, was also composed of members of this group. A special dance unit of approximately 30 performers constituted the nucleus around which the entire ballet was built. During the year a Works Progress Administration Jewish theater provided the play *Monesh* in Yiddish. The following productions were included in the repertoire of the Works Progress Administration theater in Chicago during the 1937 season (the numeral in the bracket indicates the number of performances): *Oh, Say Can You Sing,* (157); *It Can't Happen Here,* (32); *Within These Walls,* (20); *Good Old Summer-Time,* (53); *Mississippi Rainbow,* (107); *The Lonely Man,* (96); *Monesh,* (61); *The Straw,* (47); *Four One-Act Plays,* (39); *The Devil's Disciple,* (31); *Holy Night,* (5); *See Naples and Die,* (5); (total 653).

Sufficient data are not available regarding the patronage of the legitimate theater in Chicago to draw any conclusions regarding the effect of the federal theater upon privately promoted legitimate productions. Concerted efforts, however, are made by the promotional staffs of the federal theater to attract groups which normally do not attend the commercial theater with its higher rates of admission. It will be observed that the federal theater rates are relatively low, comparing with prevalent prices in many of the larger motion picture theaters of the city. As a further inducement half-rate tickets have been distributed to employees of other Works Progress Administration projects in the city to encourage people with limited incomes to enjoy at least some dramatic productions. Contacts are also made with large commercial and industrial establishments of the city, and occasionally the entire theater is occupied by employees of one of these companies together with their families. Because the Works Progress Administration theater in Chicago does not usually provide popular new plays, it does not compete with the commercial group in this respect, nor are the more prominent names in the theatrical profession which are responsible for a considerable percentage of the patronage at the regular legitimate theater in the city to be found in the casts of the federal theater productions. However, it is not to be inferred that the quality of the direction or the cast of the Works Progress Administration theater is consistently inferior; the casts of most productions include a limited number of actors with long and successful careers on the legitimate stage. In several instances these plays have received favorable notices from the local critics.

Officials of the federal theater sense an increasingly popular sentiment on the part of the general public because the number of regular patrons has increased. This they attribute to the constant improvement of the theater personnel and to the staging of many plays which have never before had a professional showing in the city.

The fact that audiences at the privately promoted stage productions have increased during the 1937 season would indicate that apparently the federal theater has at least done nothing to detract from the patronage of privately promoted professional dramatic entertainment in Chicago. It would seem that the federal theater had worked no hardship upon private enterprise, but had on the other hand made distinct contributions to both the welfare of the actors concerned and to the recreational opportunities of the city.

In addition to the legitimate stage section, the federal theater includes a number of vaudeville troupes. These companies offer unit shows which



COMMUNITY AREA NUMBER 32

LOOP

DISTRIBUTION OF LICENSED RECREATION FACILITIES

- Billiard halls
- Bowling alleys
- Penny arcades
- Halls (class 5)
- Concert halls
- Theatres
- Walk-Around shows
- Liquor establishments

-1937-

NOTE Symbols do not indicate specific address in some instances

Chicago Recreation Survey

PARKING FACILITIES
DOWN TOWN CHICAGO
1936

FEE
PARKING DATA

IN LOOP

	NO.	CAPACITY	AVERAGE DAILY PARKING
GARAGES	6	1,615	1,635
PARKING LOTS	17	888	1365

VICINITY OF LOOP

GARAGES	34	8,740	7,223
PARKING LOTS	144	15,403	13,537

TOTALS

GARAGES	40	10,355	8,858
PARKING LOTS	161	16,291	14,902

GRAND TOTALS

GARAGES	8		
PARKING LOTS	201	26,646	23,760

TEN YEARS SHOW

	1927	1937
GARAGE	26	40
LOTS	34	161

APPROXIMATELY 1200 MEN ARE EMPLOYED BY PARKING IN THIS DISTRICT.

Annual Report– Stote Street Council 1937

are booked extensively throughout the city in schools, churches, hospitals, asylums, orphanages and similar agencies. With the exception of an occasional show in the Civilians' Conservation Corps camps, the activities of the vaudeville troupes are confined to agencies within the city of Chicago. During 1937, 717 performances were given before 313,932 patrons. Many of the performances in schools are for the student body only; similarly, in other institutions the entire audience is frequently composed exclusively of inmates or patients. When such vaudeville shows are presented for the general public, an admission fee of from 5 cents to 25 cents may be charged. The proceeds are divided on a percentage basis with the individual agency (in most instances a Parent-Teacher Association group), which devotes its share to such purposes as purchasing shoes and clothing, furnishing milk and light lunches for underprivileged children. According to officials of the vaudeville unit in the city, there has been an increasing demand for this type of theatrical performance. Often children who had never before seen stage performances of any kind are included in the audiences at the school performance. While the extent to which the federal vaudeville units' productions have influenced the public demands for stage shows in the motion picture houses cannot be definitely ascertained, those associated with the management of the federal units assert that motion picture theater operators in the city have indicated from time to time that requests have been received from patrons of their theaters who have witnessed federal vaudeville shows, for entertainment of this type as part of the regular program in their theaters.

Music

Although music bulks large in the sum total of American recreation, it is by no means easy to determine how large a proportion of time and money is spent for its distinctly commercialized aspects. Probably in ordinary good times out of the possible $500,000,000 which Stuart Chase estimated is paid out annually for commercial entertainments subject to federal admission taxes one-fifth is chargeable to some form of commercial music. Of this between ten and twenty per cent goes for opera and concerts. This amount does not include the cost of buildings, musical instruments, costumes and other accessories to the production of opera, concerts and recitals.

Notwithstanding the lack of exact financial statistics or attendance figures, certain general trends are clear enough. We know that the recent depression worked havoc in the musical world: it threw thousands of professional musicians out of employment; it depleted income for opera and symphony associations; it cut down manufacture and sale of musical instruments. We know, too, that the radio and the movie have worked both benefit and hardship upon local musical enterprises. They have contributed to the unemployment of musicians and have probably cut across the path of local symphony, theater, opera and concert activities. On the other hand, never before in the history of America has so large a volume of musical interest been apparent. We know further that with the modest revival of business prosperity music has manifested a decided upturn. But it seems that most of this improvement has redounded to other than the distinctively commercial music enterprises. In spite of the fact that symphony orchestras doubled their number within recent years, they have had "hard sledding" to compete with movies and radio. For whatever reason (radio claims the credit) people are buying pianos once more. Even before the crash in 1929 it had begun to look to piano manufacturers "as if the piano were headed the way of the antimacassar and the Lazy Susan, into the curiosity shops." But in 1937 the piano manufacturers were apparently able to recapture at least the heights of 1929, with an approximate total of 130,000, which represents the hopeful increase of 300 per cent since 1932.

The two most significant trends in the music world of America are on the whole decidedly against paid listener audiences. Of the enormous vogue of radio it is superfluous to speak, for it is the subject of a complete chapter in this Volume. But the other trend is equally significant though less generally observed, namely, the rapid growth in public school music. States, cities, even small towns and villages now appropriate funds, employ directors or teachers, organize choruses, bands, orchestras and chamber music ensembles. Scarcely a state in the Union is without its school music contest. In a recent year nearly 100,000 high

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school players participated in such contests. But this very development may operate in several directions: it may so lift the interest and taste of these young players, their families and neighbors, that they will all become active supporters of professional musical activities in their communities. But it may turn equally in the direction of stimulating home self-entertainment and enjoyment of music; or it may consume so much of the participants' time that they have no leisure to listen to concerts of other players; or the community's musical desire may be satisfied with the amateur "home product" and not seek outside professional effort.

How these movements will finally shape the total configuration of American music it is at the present impossible to predict. But it is entirely possible that before long all this newly generated musical interest will begin to show itself in larger support for commercial music activities in the form of opera, symphony, and miscellaneous concerts. At any rate within the past three years conditions in the American concert field have improved, at least to the extent that more performances are being given.

Chicago as one of the world's great music centers reflects in general the national situation. One-sixth of the total national output of musical instruments is manufactured in Chicago. The city is rated as the world's leader in manufacture of pianos and in distribution of pianos and other musical instruments. This business aspect of music suffered along with most other kinds of business in the recent dark years, and followed the general trend already described.

But attention must not be focused merely on musical instruments. For a hundred years Chicago has been the scene of music history. Its beginnings were naive and humble enough. We are told, for example, that in 1834 Jean Beaubien brought to Chicago a piano, and a year later there was a Chicago Harmonic Society, which staged an elaborate vocal and instrumental concert in the Presbyterian church.[1]

Local historians have set down other high lights in the development of those musical activities which are a source of pride to Chicagoans. Thus from the best available records it would seem that Chicago's musical activities began about 1850. In that year Julius Dyhrenfurth established the Philharmonic Society and was its conductor until 1856. Then Theodore Thomas first appeared in Chicago as first violinist in a concert troupe in 1854. A second visit was made in 1858. In 1857 the Mendelssohn Singing Society was formed. This organization later became the Apollo Musical Club. In 1860 a new Philharmonic Society was established. Theodore Thomas' third visit to Chicago in 1869 marked an important epoch in the city's musical history, for he came as the conductor of an orchestra of forty pieces. During the next 20 years he came to Chicago frequently with his orchestra, and during that period between 1877 and 1891 inaugurated the famous summer night concerts in the old Exposition Building, where the Art Institute now stands.[2]

Probably the first performance of opera in Chicago was given in the "New Theatre" on Monday, July 29, 1850. In 1858 McVickers Theater was dedicated, and a season of opera began on September 27 of that year. During the following year no less than three opera companies visited Chicago. Later Theodore Thomas conducted the American Opera Company at this theater, and the first season of German opera was presented about 1887 or 1888. About this period a grand opera festival was presented at the old Exposition Building. This led to the building of the Auditorium, and in 1891 the first real bona fide season of opera in Chicago was inaugurated. Opera continued to be given in the Auditorium under various auspices up to 1910, when Chicago's own opera company made its debut and continued despite many vicissitudes until the season of 1931-1932.[3]

In 1931-1932 the Civic Opera Company went out of existence, because its guarantors were unable to assist any further, as the market crash of 1929 had seriously affected this entire group. Hence Chicago was without its own opera company for several succeeding years and had to depend upon visits by other operatic groups for this type of entertainment. In 1935 the Chicago City Opera Company was organized to resume the work of the Civic Opera Company; since that time

[1] *Chicago's Great Century, 1833-1933,* p. 11.

[2] Glenn A. Bishop and Paul T. Gilbert, *Chicago's Accomplishments and Leaders,* 1932, p. 52.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 52.

Chicago has again had a regular season by its own company.

Without the financial support enjoyed by its predecessor in the heyday of the wealthy patron and benefactor, the present company has applied business principles to opera. As a result of "taking opera to the people" the annual deficits have been enormously reduced. Increasingly successful attempts are being made to interest leading civic groups, colleges, suburban groups, women's clubs, etc., in supporting opera. As a result of the relative success of this policy in 1936, an extra week was added to the 1937 season. Total attendance during 1937 was 155,000 or an average of 22,140 each week compared with a total of 104,000 (for six weeks) and an average of 17,333 in 1936; this represents a gratifying increase of more than 27.73 per cent in one year. Officials of the opera attribute this success to the improvement in quality of performances and to the fact that radio broadcasting of the Metropolitan Opera and other similar high-grade operatic music tended to educate people to opera. But the most significant causal factor has undoubtedly been the change of policy by which not merely the Gold Coast and immigrant neighborhoods, but every section of the city have been made more "opera conscious."

In addition to the regular season of so-called "grand opera" short seasons of operatic offerings are made available by traveling repertory companies of lesser magnitude such as the San Carlo Company, the Salzburg Opera Guild, the Chicago International Opera Company, and the D'Oyley Carte Company with its now classic Gilbert and Sullivan repertory. Occasionally special companies are organized to present revivals of popular light operas such as "Blossom Time" or "The Student Prince," and seem to enjoy considerable financial success. Colleges, high schools and clubs also frequently perform standard operas of the lighter type to which the public is invited. All in all, then, opera in Chicago enjoys a certain vogue, but by no means to the extent of an average European metropolis.

For the time being at least Chicago fares better in its opportunities for symphony than for opera. At least the "permanent equipment" for this type of music is more extensive. Four symphony orchestras appear regularly in public performances, besides several occasional symphonic groups or "sinfoniettas." Of these the Chicago Symphony Orchestra naturally tops the list both in length of service and in professional capacity. Established in 1891 by Theodore Thomas, the Chicago Symphony is the third oldest orchestra in America. It is controlled by the Orchestral Association, which has been credited largely with the development of symphonic interest in this city. To it, for example, is attributed the successful campaign to secure the subscriptions of more than 8,000 individuals which led to the financing and erection of Orchestra Hall in 1904.

Ever since the death of Theodore Thomas in 1905 Frederick Stock has conducted the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, and to his efforts must be assigned much of whatever popularity symphony concerts now enjoy in Chicago. It is interesting to observe how subtly but surely public taste has been raised through the "popular concerts" offered during a series of years. Naturally an orchestra which depends considerably upon audience support in addition to modest income from endowments must present programs which will attract listeners. It follows that a balance must be maintained between the classic repertory and established favorites of the public and the newer ventures in musical art. The younger American as well as European composers and performers are not overlooked.

The annual season is divided into five series of which the most important are the three symphony series held on 28 Thursday evenings, 28 Friday afternoons and 12 Tuesday afternoons. These are supplemented by the Saturday night popular concerts and the Young People's Concerts. The Symphony Orchestra also fills an occasional engagement outside of the city, providing the orchestral background for several of the more prominent musical festivals in the Middle West, notably those in Evanston and Mount Vernon, Iowa. The season of 1937-8 includes 88 concerts in Chicago, ten in Milwaukee, one in Pittsburgh, besides participation in programs in the Ravinia concerts and the summer concerts usually held in Grant Park.

But the Symphony Orchestra is having its financial difficulties in spite of maintaining a gratifyingly high level of artistic performances. While ten years ago the full capacity of Orchestra Hall, 2,582 seats, was often filled, the largest attend-

ance in 1937 was only 1,800. This slump in symphony orchestra attendance is not characteristic of Chicago alone, for as we have already intimated the same situation exists in most American cities. Although some of the loss in patronage has been attributed to unfavorable economic conditions, many hold that the entrance of radio into the symphonic concert field, particularly with outstanding musicians and conductors on nights which have long been dedicated to regular symphony concert attendance, has contributed notably to this decline. The Chicago Symphony, however, has attempted to meet the situation somewhat by including broadcasts of fourteen of its concerts over the Mutual Network as part of its regular season. For several years it has also had a prominent place in the summer series of concerts given under the jurisdiction of the Park District and the Chicago Federation of Musicians.

Admission prices to the Tuesday, Thursday and Friday afternoon concerts range from 50 cents to $2.50. All of the boxes and 90 per cent of the main floor and balcony seats for these concerts are sold on a season subscription. The gallery seats are sold singly for each concert, being put on sale one week in advance. The purpose of the popular concerts held Saturday evenings is to reach the masses; hence tickets are distributed or sold through industrial plants, social settlements, etc.; prices for these tickets are 25, 50 and 75 cents. Each third Wednesday of the month during the season special Young People's Concerts are scheduled to which adults are admitted only when escorting children. The prices for tickets to these concerts are 15, 25 and 50 cents, with season tickets from $1.50 to $3.50. The total attendance at all Orchestra Hall concerts of the Chicago Symphony during 1937 reached approximately 205,000.

The Chicago Civic Orchestra serves as an adjunct to its parent organization, the Symphony Orchestra. It contains the ordinary number of players in a modern standard orchestra. Its purpose is primarily not commercial, although tickets to its concerts (four to six per season) cost from 15 to 50 cents. The main objective of this music organization is to provide a training school and recruiting center for players in the Chicago and other symphony orchestras. To that end practically free instruction in harmony, theory and conducting is given to members in addition to rigorous training in ensemble playing. The conductor of the Chicago Symphony is its musical director, and the assistant conductor (at present Hans Lange) serves as its conductor. Its programs are advertised to the public through established media of publicity, and enjoy considerable public patronage.

The Orchestral Association besides sustaining the two foregoing major enterprises sponsors choral singing for children in nine centers throughout the city. More than 1,000 children participate in the final concert each year.

Next in importance among symphonic activities in Chicago must be placed the Woman's Symphony Orchestra. The 1937-38 season celebrates its twelfth anniversary. It enjoys the distinction of being the only well-established professional symphony orchestra in the world which consists entirely of feminine players with a woman conductor. It was founded in 1925 by three young women, Lillian Poenisch, Lois Bichl and Adeline Schmidt, all professional musicians who, finding that careers were not open to them in the established symphony orchestras, decided to organize one for women players only.

For the past eleven years it has given an annual series of concerts to large audiences. It numbers 85 players and its programs compare with those of standard symphony organizations. They have included over forty of the major symphonies of the standard orchestral repertoire and a large number of novelties. Many famous solists have appeared on its programs. In 1934, the Woman's Symphony was made the major project of the National Music Departments of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Recent seasons have been made notable by the support given by this organization in building audiences.[1]

Attendance at performances of the Woman's Symphony Orchestra averages 2,500. The organization operated at a loss until about three years ago, when a new business manager took over its affairs. Under the new policy the orchestra has not only emerged from the red, but is actually showing a profit. The galaxy of stars who have

[1]Notes from a recent program of the Woman's Symphony Orchestra Association.

been heard at recent performances of the Woman's Symphony Orchestra includes Gertrude Wettergren, Swedish contralto; Bartlett and Robinson, piano duettists; Alfred Wallenstein, cellist; Bidu Sayao, soprano. Guest conductors for the 1937-1938 season are Frank St. Leger and Erno Rapee.

Somewhat older than the Woman's Symphony is the fourth of Chicago's major organizations in this field of music, the Business Men's Orchestra. This orchestra is of standard size and is now in its eighteenth year of activity. Its founder, George Lytton, an active Chicago merchant, played in it until his premature demise recently. Its conductor, George Dasch, is a recognized music leader in the Chicago area, member of the music faculty of Northwestern University and conductor of its Symphony Orchestra. It gives several concerts during the season, plays many of the standard symphonic works from Gluck to Wagner and Tchaikowsky, utilizes outstanding guest soloists, and as a result has built up much respect among musical critics and the audience public. Its concerts are usually given in Orchestra Hall and command admission rates from fifty cents to one dollar.

Besides having these regular local symphony orchestras, Chicago is on the regular concert tour circuit of other organizations, such as the Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and St. Louis orchestras.

Most of these musical activities can be called commercial only in the sense that they charge admission rates as a means of securing partial support for their major purpose, namely, self-education and education of public taste. Their management is entirely in private hands; they receive no subsidies from public funds as might be the case in Continental Europe. Differing in this respect, although similar in purpose and activity, must be rated the various activities of state and federal government on behalf of unemployed musicians and a public needing recreation at low cost. It has been said that "the inauguration of the Federal Music Project was probably the most significant event in American music during the year 1935. It may well prove the most significant musical happening in decades. Under the able leadership of Nikolai Sokoloff, an orchestra conductor of great ability and reputation, the Government at last interested itself in music in this country, and both directly and indirectly has begun to subsidize music. The Federal Music Project is not another species of dole. It aids music as well as musicians. Creative in aim, it sorts out the competent musicians from among those who are merely unemployed and sets them to work for the cultural benefit of the community as well as for their own benefit . . ."[1]

During 1934 and 1935 and somewhat anticipating the federal project, the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission through its works program provided employment for qualified musicians then on the relief roll. Orchestras and bands were organized and concerts given in settlement houses, hospitals, public parks, etc. In the latter part of 1935 when the works program of the Relief Commission was superseded by the Federal Works Progress Administration projects the musical aspects of the program were transferred to the new Federal Music Project. This organization commenced operations in November; by January of 1936 regular schedules and concerts were being given in the institutions previously served by the Relief Commission program. In a recent report of the Chicago Division of the Federal Music Project the physical accomplishments of the various units are indicated as follows:

From November, 1935, to September 30, 1937, the Illinois Symphony Orchestra gave a total of 125 performances with a total attendance of approximately 195,000 people. The programs given were devoted to the highest grade of symphonic music and included the works of all the master composers. Since October 11, concerts have been given regularly on Sunday afternoons at the Great Northern Theatre. No figures on the total attendance at the symphony concerts given during the present season are available at the present time. During the period, March 22, 1936-June 20, 1937, the Illinois Symphony Orchestra gave performances of approximately 325 major compositions by 168 composers. Fifty-three young American artists appeared as soloists in these programs.

The American Concert Orchestra with full symphonic instrumentation began giving concerts in May, 1936. During the period, May 1, 1936,

[1] *American Year Book*, 1935.

to September 30, 1937, this orchestra gave a total of 172 performances in concert halls, settlement houses, and schools to a total attendance of approximately 170,000 people. Since November, 1937, this unit has been employed almost exclusively in giving music appreciation programs for the students in the Chicago Public Schools.

Employed also in the school concerts are two bands, one smaller orchestra and two choruses. In the period, November 1, 1936, to May 15, 1937, these units gave 1,050 concerts in 275 different schools of the city. The number of students attending them was 654,000. The demand for these programs is much greater than can be supplied. In the period, September 17-December 17, 1937, these appreciation programs were given for 239,000 children.

One of the features of the activity of the Federal Music Project in the larger cities has been the Composers' Forum Concerts. These are devoted to chamber music and works in the smaller forms by American composers. The works given include string quintets and quartets, piano quartets, trios and solo works. The Arrangers and Copyists Project supplies copies of scores and parts needed for the programs of the various units and for the music library of the project. During the year ending July 1, 1937, this project furnished about 1,500 separate parts for the use of the orchestras and bands, in addition to hundreds of arrangements and orchestrations for the Federal Theatre and Vaudeville Projects.

A work of this scope, which is not after all a history of music in Chicago, cannot go into details of every phase of music offered to audiences in this city; yet it would be inadequate if it did not mention at least the work of such outstanding choral organizations as the Apollo Club, the Mendelssohn Club or the Chicago A Capella Choir. While they owe their existence mainly to inherent member interest in participating in the production of beautiful music, this interest is enhanced by occasional opportunities to perform before public audiences who pay for the privilege. These musical clubs have a long and honorable history and have done much to raise the standard of public taste in this community.

One of the most rapidly growing forms of musical-dramatic entertainment provided in the city of Chicago is to be found in the ballet. That Chicago is well out in front in its taste for this form of interpretive dancing is attested by the fact that only in Chicago does the Ballet Russe present a season of two entire weeks. During 1937, in addition to the Ballet Russe, the San Carlo Opera Ballet, the Trude Schupp Comique Ballet, the Uday Shan-Kar Indian Ballet and the Mordkin Ballet presented programs at the Auditorium Theater, the Chicago Civic Opera House and the Studebaker Theater. Attendance ranged from 1,200 to 3,000 at the two former houses; the Studebaker with a more restricted capacity had audiences of from 800 to 1,150. The range in admission charges at the Auditorium Theater, regarded as typical, is from 55 cents to $3.30. In addition to these world renowned artists of the ballet, frequent recitals are given in ballet and in modern interpretive dancing by the leading professional dancing schools and by some of the country's outstanding exponents of these forms of dancing. This latter group appears frequently in recitals for the benefit of various charitable and philanthropic agencies.

This brief account of music—symphonic, operatic, ballet—would not be complete without at least noting the remarkably successful series of recitals and concerts arranged by the Dean of University College of Northwestern University. This series, known as History and Enjoyment of Music Lecture-Concerts, has been offered for three years to college students and the general public, not as a profit making undertaking but as a contribution to genuine adult education. These concerts are given in Thorne Hall on the college downtown campus or in the Auditorium Theater, and include such outstanding offerings as the Saidenberg Chamber Music Players, the Aeolian String Quartet, the Manuel-Williamson Harpsichord Ensemble, the Salzburg Opera Guild, the Ballet Russe, Marian Anderson, Jascha Heifetz, Yehudi Menuhin and the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra. Admission is largely by season tickets costing from $3.50 to $15.00, but some individual tickets are available at prices from $1.50 to $3.50. The 1937-38 season brought a total audience of over 1,600 to Thorne Hall and 12,500 to the Auditorium.

In Chicago "all musical entertainments consist-

ing solely of vocal or instrumental music, or both vocal and instrumental music, and not of the nature of an opera but being commonly what is known and described as an opera," are grouped as third class amusements and the establishments in which they are offered are required to pay an annual license fee of $100. During 1937 there were five third class amusement licenses issued. They were for the following addresses: 600 North Wabash Avenue (Medinah Temple Association, seating capacity 4,252), 212 South Michigan Avenue (Orchestra Hall, seating capacity 2,561), 306 South Wabash (Kimball Hall, seating capacity 500), 410 South Michigan (Fine Arts Concert Hall, 363 seats), 62 East Eleventh Street (Chicago Woman's Club with 587 seats). During the year Orchestra Hall was used regularly from October until the latter part of April, all of the concerts of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra being held at this location. In addition, from May, 1936, to April, 1937, it was also the scene of sixty-four concerts and recitals on Sunday afternoons, and on open week day evenings.

Curtiss Hall in the Kimball Building was used during the season by women's clubs or lecturers for dramatic performances, dances and music recitals. Approximately 30 recitals and concerts were scheduled for this location. A smaller hall in the Kimball Building, seating 200, was used for the same type of activities but on a smaller scale. The Studebaker Theater, licensed as a class-one amusement, was booked for approximately fifteen Sunday afternoon concerts under the management of one of the leading musical entrepreneurs of the city. Kimball Hall averaged at least one professional recital and concert throughout the entire year of 1937 and in addition sixty-nine mid-year concerts, annual concerts and commencement programs comprising students from various musical conservatories and students. Each Saturday afternoon from October until June inclusive, and each Wednesday afternoon during the summer free concerts were provided by the American Conservatory, and each Friday a one-hour organ recital open to the public without charge was conducted there by the American Guild of Organists. During 1937 the Chicago Women's Club Auditorium was the scene of 55 lectures, 95 motion pictures, 15 little theater productions and 35 musicals. The majority of these latter events were sponsored by private groups or were recitals provided primarily for the club membership. The recital hall in the Auditorium Building, which was not licensed as a third class amusement, was the scene of 35 recitals during the year. The Chicago Civic Theater, located in the Civic Opera Building, provides approximately ten recitals and concerts each year. In each instance these concerts present famous vocal and instrumental artists.

Later in this Volume will be found a detailed description of various recreational projects sponsored by local newspapers. Here in this discussion of music may be singled out for special mention the Chicagoland Music Festival inaugurated in 1930 under the auspices of the *Chicago Tribune* Charities, Inc. The *Tribune* sponsors the event in co-operation with newspapers, civic and social organizations throughout the country. The program is generally held toward the end of August or the first part of September. The general admission fee is twenty-five cents, or fifty cents for reserved seats. The annual attendance has averaged between 80,000 and 100,000. The programs consist of adult and juvenile bands and choruses, junior and juvenile drum corps, violinists, cornet and harmonica players, yodelers and vocalists.

The greatest problem of this particular section of the survey of recreation in Chicago has been to select significant facts from a great mass of available data; for a whole volume could well be devoted to music in Chicago alone. But at least enough has been said to indicate that music furnishes no inconsiderable share in the commercial recreation of the city. Certain financial and labor handicaps have tended to hinder an even fuller development. It is to be hoped that all phases of music may receive active stimulus from the new potentialities of invention and business recovery, for we should never forget the profound dictum of Confucius twenty-five centuries ago, "When music and courtesy are better understood and appreciated, there will be no war." How far we still have to go may be inferred from the fact that the annual per capita expenditure of Chicagoans for this great array of music is scarcely more than twenty cents!

CHAPTER V

BILLIARD AND BOWLING ESTABLISHMENTS

Billiard Establishments

The importance of billiard establishments as recreational agencies is best attested by the fact that for many years it was said that a community's activity in commercial recreation could be rated very easily by the number of commercial billiard halls within its limits. Billiards represent one of the oldest forms of indoor recreation in the United States. Records reveal that it was introduced into this country by the Spaniards as early as 1565. There are many varieties of billiards, most of which utilize the same tables. Among these are the several types of balkline, three cushion pocket billiards and cushion carom. As a competitive sport billiards or pool, as it was generally known until that name was eradicated from the game "because of the odium which attached for some years to 'pool rooms' of the cheap and vicious class," received its first major impetus through the match tournaments held during the years just following the mid-nineteenth century, through which national champions were designated. The National Billiard Association, organized July 25, 1921, has been one of the major influences in the development of billiards as a sport. But growth of the game was held back because, on account of the unsocial influences so often associated with this type of establishment, pool rooms were not for many years looked upon favorably by the more respectable elements in communities.

Billiards have now reached national dimensions, and the trends are considered as worth recording by authorities on recreation movements. Thus Professor Steiner says:

"Computed from federal taxes paid by commercial establishments operating these games, the number of tables and alleys in 1900 was 73,346. By the year 1915 they had more than doubled, the number being 158,282, and five years later they had increased to 278,216. Beginning with 1921 a decline in these sports set in, and in 1926, the last year that federal taxes were paid, they numbered only 171,466. . . . In Chicago the number of pool and billiard halls and the number of tables approximately doubled between 1910 and 1920 while during the following decade the number of halls fell off two-thirds and the tables declined 40 per cent. The number of bowling alleys, however, more than doubled during the past decade with a slight decrease in the number of amusement places operating these alleys. In Indiana between 1916-1917 and 1928-1929, there was a gain of 18 per cent in the number of pool and billiard halls but the average number of halls per city declined for each class of cities above 2,500 population. Apparently the nation-wide decline in these sports has proceeded very unevenly because of various influences. The unsavory reputation of many commercial pool halls caused by their close association with gambling interests is undoubtedly responsible for their retarded growth in many places. In cities where public recreation facilities have made rapid progress, pool halls have frequently found it difficult to compete with the increased opportunities for various kinds of recreation. The present trend seems to be away from the small, ill-kept hall with one or two tables to large, centrally located halls equipped and supervised in a manner designed to appeal to a better clientele."[1]

Within recent years, to encourage wider participation in the sport and thus indirectly to encourage the sale of billiard equipment, the National Billiard Association has introduced several innovations. The orthodox green cushion table and the white billiard ball have been replaced by more colorful equipment, purples and yellows predominating. Tournament winners have been recruited to campaign for the game by presenting exhibitions throughout the country to educational institutions, athletic and other groups. With the present trend toward more stringent regulations and with the development of the large recreation centers combining billiards and bowling with other sports has come a more receptive attitude towards billiards on the part of the general community. Within recent years the number of women com-

[1] Jesse F. Steiner, *Americans at Play* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1933), ch. 6.

peting has increased tremendously, and the women's championships attract large fields of competitors from all over the country. It is estimated that in 1937 there were more than eight million billiard players in the United States.

Chicago's first billiard hall was opened with two tables in Couche's Hotel in 1836. However, in 1837, upon the incorporation of the city, an ordinance was passed which provided that: "If any person shall keep a billiard table, shuffle board, E. O. table, pharo bank, or any other instrument of gaming where or on or with which money, liquor or other articles shall in any manner be played for, or if any person shall keep a disorderly or gaming house, such person shall for each and every offense forfeit and pay a penalty of twenty-five dollars, and also the further penalty of twenty-five dollars for every forty-eight hours during which such person shall continue to keep the same, after the first conviction for any violation of this section."[1]

The Municipal Code of 1851 reveals that: "No person shall keep within said city any billiard table or bowl alley under a penalty of five dollars, and a further penalty of five dollars for every month the same may be continued for use. The owner or owners of any building in which such billiard table or bowl alley is kept shall be liable to like penalties as are above prescribed for each offense." Among the duties of the town marshal as prescribed by city ordinance was one to the effect that: "He shall attend to the collection of fines imposed on bowl alleys and billiard tables." The Municipal Code of 1866 indicates that while ostensibly billiard halls and bowling alleys were illegal, yet by payment of a twenty-five dollar fee for each table or alley, owners of billiard halls and bowling alleys could secure a commutation certificate enabling them to operate these devices. The law specified that: "No person shall have or keep for his or their gain within said city, any billiard table, pin alley, nine or ten pin alley, ball alley under a penalty of five dollars for each and every month each and every billiard table and each and every alley in any pin or ball alley and shooting gallery shall be so kept and used by him or them."[2]

It was provided however, that: "Whenever any person shall pay to the collector the sum of twenty-five dollars, upon or before the first day of July of any year, for each billiard table, nine or ten or other pin alley, or shooting gallery that he shall own, keep, or in any way have in his possession, the comptroller shall give such persons a commutation certificate, stating the number of such tables, alleys or galleries, upon which such payment shall be made, which shall be in full discharge of any and all penalties or fines or other dues under any ordinance of said city, for owning, or keeping, or in any way having in his possession the number of tables, alleys, or galleries, specified, until the first day of the next succeeding July: *Provided*, That any person who shall not procure a certificate of commutation for each and every such table, alley, and gallery, or who shall not voluntarily call at the collector's office and pay the full twenty-five dollars for each additional one that he may own, keep, or in any way have in his possession, by subsequent purchase or otherwise, during any fraction of a year, or in any other way attempt to deceive the city authorities, his certificate of commutation shall be revoked by the mayor, and he be liable to the same fines and penalties as if this section had not passed. All persons must elect, before the first day of July in each year, whether they will avail themselves of the provisions of this section. Said certificate of commutation shall be conspicuously posted in the room of such tables, alleys, or galleries; and whenever any person shall play thereon for money, liquor, or any other article or thing, the mayor shall promptly revoke said certificate of commutation."[3]

A study of licensed billiard halls in the city of Chicago from 1910 reveals that the peak in the number of establishments was reached in 1920 when a total of 2,244 locations were licensed. This represented an increase of approximately 900 from 1918 when prohibition removed the saloon with which the billiard halls had so long been associated. In 1921 the number of individual establishments showed a sudden decrease to 947, followed by a further decrease to 861 in 1922. Several factors contributed to this decline. The rapid increase in the number of billiard establishments from 1918 was largely due to the fact that many who formerly had been saloon proprietors entered this field but were unable to survive the keen competition. Secondly, conditions in the pool rooms themselves resulted in more stringent regulations, finally culminating in the establishment of the billiard commission to pass upon all applications for such licenses. In 1926 Burgess' study noted 1,112 licensed establishments within the city of Chicago, and from that year through 1929 the number remained fairly constant, 1,030 establish-

[1] *The Laws and Ordinances of the City of Chicaga*, 1837, sixth division, sec. 1.

[2] *Chicago Municipal Code, 1866*, ch. XXV, sec. 9.

[3] *Ibid.*, sec. 10.

ments. In 1930 the number dropped to 960, and each year since that date there has been a steady decline to the low of 580 establishments reached in 1936. The 709 billiard establishments licensed in 1933 included 3,363 individual tables (with three not specified). In 1934, 637 establishments provided 2,975 tables; in 1935, 580 locations, 2,687 tables; and in 1936 the same number of establishments revealed an upturn in business by an increase to 2,774 tables. Two hundred and seventy-eight of the 1,127 establishments which comprised the 2,506 licenses were licensed each of the four years, 1933-1936, 155 for 3 years, 235 for 2 years, 459 for only one year. Of the 580 legal commercial billiard establishments in 1936, nearly 48 per cent were licensed in each of the three years preceding; 95 in two years, and 85 in one. One hundred and twenty-two establishments, or 21 per cent of the total number licensed, were new in 1936; these represented 16 per cent of the total number of tables. Forty-six of the halls licensed in 1936 had ten or more tables. In 1936 the median number of tables per establishment was four, and for the four-year period 1933-1936 an average of 72 per cent of all license fees were derived from establishments with less than ten tables. The maximum number of tables in one establishment in 1936 was 56. Seventy-nine of the 580 licensed establishments in 1936 also had bowling licenses; of this number 44 were also licensed retail liquor establishments. These represented 752 and 456 respectively of the 2,774 billiard tables. Thirty-three billiard establishments which did not have bowling licenses were associated with retail liquor establishments.

More than half of the total number of billiard tables in Chicago are located in ten of the seventy-five community areas. The Loop area with 326 tables, followed by the near west side with 251 and the near northwest side with 174 include more than one-fourth of this total.

Like bowling establishments, billiard halls are kept out of residential districts by the zoning laws in addition to the licensing ordinances. Billiard halls are concentrated just as bowling establishments are associated with business districts and are located on major commercial streets. Madison, State, Clark and Halsted Streets accounted for the addresses of eighty-nine of the total in 1936. Ten of the seventy-five community areas of the city had no licensed billiard halls in 1936, while twenty-three areas had less than four establishments within their boundaries.

The control of billiard establishments within the city of Chicago is regulated through the licensing powers of the city. By action of the council a billiard commission was established whose duties and functions are embodied in the following ordinances:[1]

591. Billiard commission created.] There is hereby created a commission to be known as the billiard commission of the city of Chicago. The said commission shall consist of the mayor, the commissioner of police and the members of the committee on public recreation and athletics of the city council. The members of the said billiard commission shall serve as such without compensation and shall not be entitled to receive any pay out of the city treasury for expense incurred in performance of any duty as members of same.

592. Secretary.] There is also created the office of secretary of the billiard commission. The salary of the secretary of such billiard commission shall be fixed by the city council.

593. Powers and duties of billiard commission.] It shall be the duty of the billiard commission, under the supervision of the commissioner of police, to pass upon the qualifications of applicants for licenses, and to make all necessary rules and regulations for the proper enforcement of the provisions of article III of chapter 37 of this ordinance, subject to the approval of the commissioner of police.

594. Register of licensed billiard rooms.] The commission shall keep a register of the name and the location of the place of business of each person, firm, club, corporation or association licensed under said article, together with the license number and the date and complete record of inspections and investigations made. Such records shall be open to the inspection of the public at all reasonable times. The commission shall maintain a constant vigilance over all public billiard rooms to see that the owners thereof are at all times complying with the terms and provisions of article III of chapter 37 of this ordinance and all other ordinances and laws relating thereto, and the commission shall inspect or cause to be inspected and investigated all public billiard rooms, from time to time or on the complaint of any citizen as often as may be necessary. Records in writing of all in-

[1] *Revised Chicago Code of 1931*, ch. 5, art. 10, sec. 591-6.

spections and investigations shall be promptly made to the commission.

595. Commission to report to the department of police.] The billiard commission shall notify the department of police whenever a license is suspended or revoked, or whenever, as a result of any investigation made by the commission or caused to be made by said commission, evidence is discovered tending to prove that the owner of any billiard room is guilty of violating any of the provisions of article III of chapter 37 of this ordinance, or the rules and regulations of the commission, or any of the provisions of any ordinance of the city or law of the state of Illinois regulating billiard rooms.

596. Records.] The billiard commission shall keep a complete record of each license issued, and of the renewals, suspensions and revocations thereof, which record shall be kept on file with the original applications for such licenses.

The procedure for licensing individual billiard establishments and the restrictions and regulations placed upon these establishments are also prescribed by ordinances, together with the penalties for violations.[1]

1933. Licensing of billiard rooms.] No person, society, club, firm or corporation shall open, conduct, maintain or operate a billiard room within the city, unless such person, society, club, firm or corporation shall have first been duly licensed for such purpose and shall have obtained a permit therefor; provided, however, that the provisions of this section shall not apply to private residences, schools, municipal institutions or charitable organizations.

Every person, society, club, firm or corporation desiring to open or maintain a billiard room must make application to the billiard commission for a license therefor, which application shall be filed with the secretary of the billiard commission at least ten days prior to the time of granting such license.

Every applicant for a license shall file with the billiard commission a written application upon blanks furnished by said commission stating the full name and address, including street and number, of the applicant, or if more than one person, or an association or firm, the full names of all parties financially interested, and the addresses of such persons, including street and number. If the applicant be a club, society or corporation, the application shall contain a complete list of the officers of such club, society or corporation, with the names and addresses, including street and number, and shall also give the state in which said club, society or corporation is organized, and the names of one or more persons whom the said club, society or corporation decides to designate as its manager or managers, person or persons in charge, with their addresses. The application shall also state the following:

(a) The premises where said billiard room is to be conducted, including the street and number.

(b) The age of the applicants or managers of the club, society or corporation.

(c) Whether the applicant or manager is a citizen of the United States.

(d) Whether the applicant has ever been engaged in operating a billiard room, and when, where and how long in each place within five years then last past.

(e) The name of the owner of the premises in which said billiard room is located and the complete address of such owner. The application shall be signed by the applicant or applicants, or, in the case of a club, society or corporation, the application shall be signed by the manager or any of its officers, and all such applications shall be filed with the billiard commission.

1934. Investigation to be made by commission—granting of licenses.] The billiard commission shall cause an investigation to be made as to the character of the applicant or applicants, and of the officers of the club, society or corporation making such application, if the applicant is such, and of the person who is to have the general management of the business, and shall report the result of its investigation to the commissioner of police.

If the billiard commission, upon investigation, shall find that any of the persons named in the application are not of good moral character or that any of said persons have previously been connected with any billiard room where the license has been revoked and has not been restored by the mayor, or where any of the provisions with reference to billiard rooms have been violated, or that the billiard room sought to be licensed does not comply in every way with the regulations, ordinances and laws applicable thereto, the said commission shall so report to the commissioner of police. The billiard commission is hereby authorized and empowered to establish reasonable rules and regulations for the investigation of all applicants, which said rules and regulations shall, before becoming effective, be approved by the commissioner of police. If upon such investigation the applicant is found to be qualified in accordance with the provisions of this section and the rules and regulations

[1] *Revised Chicago Code of 1931*, ch. 37, art. 3, sec. 1933-1943, sec. 1945.

established thereunder, the billiard commission shall so report to the commissioner of police, and the commissioner of police may, in his discretion, recommend to the mayor the issuance of a license, and, upon the payment of the license fees hereinafter provided for, the mayor may, in his discretion, grant a license to the applicant.

1935. Examination fees.] Every person, society, club, firm or corporation that shall make an original application for a license to conduct, maintain or operate a billiard room shall pay an examination fee as follows:

For billiard rooms containing or operating one billiard or pocket billiard table	$1.00
For billiard rooms containing or operating two billiard or pocket billiard tables	2.00
For billiard rooms containing or operating three or more billiard or pocket billiard tables	5.00

Provided, however, that where a billiard room is conducted, maintained or operated in conjunction with the business of a class A retail beverage dealer and by the same person, society, club, firm or corporation, no examination fee shall be required.

1936. License fees—period of license—transfer of licenses.] Every person, society, club, firm or corporation to whom a license is granted shall pay an annual license fee therefor in the sum of seven dollars and fifty cents for each billiard table and seven dollars and fifty cents for each pocket billiard table; provided, however, that where only one billiard or pocket billiard table is maintained or operated in conjunction with the business of a class A retail beverage dealer and by the same person, society, club, firm or corporation, no license fee shall be required.

All licenses granted under the provision of this article shall expire on December 31st next succeeding, unless sooner suspended or revoked as hereinafter provided.

No transfer of a license, either to a person or place, shall be permitted except with the consent of the billiard commission and the approval of the commissioner of police, which consent and approval shall be endorsed upon the license; provided the licensee applying for the transfer of any license shall comply with all the provisions of this article, and with the other provisions of this ordinance relating to transfers of licenses which are applicable thereto.

1937. Hours of operating.] It shall be unlawful for any person, society, club, firm or corporation to operate a billiard room between the hours of 1 o'clock A.M. and 7 o'clock A.M. or to harbor or permit any person or persons to be or remain in any such billiard room any day of the week between the hours of 1 o'clock A.M. and 7 o'clock A.M. This section, however, shall not be construed to prevent regular employees from performing necessary work within the premises.

1938. Minors not to be permitted in billiard rooms.] It shall be unlawful for any person to play billiards or to be permitted to remain in a billiard room for any purpose who has not reached the age of eighteen years unless accompanied by a parent or guardian, and it shall be unlawful for any person to represent himself or herself to have reached the age of eighteen years in order to obtain admission to such billiard room or to be permitted to remain therein when such person in fact is under eighteen years of age.

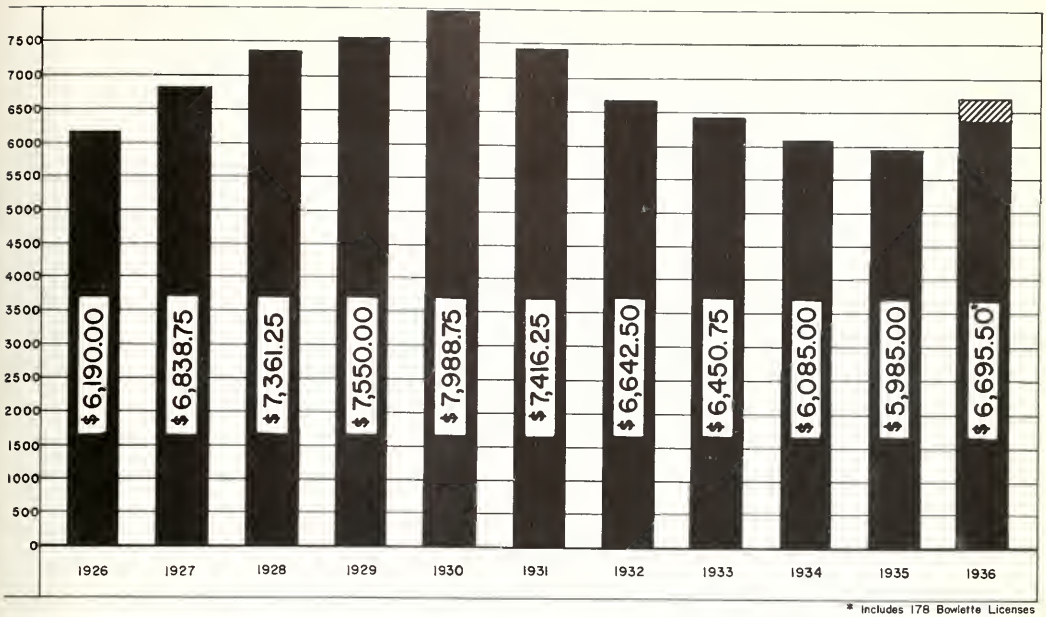
1939. Definitions — gambling.] The term "billiards" as used in this article shall mean any of the several games played on a table surrounded by an elastic ledge of cushions with balls which are impelled by a cue, and shall include all forms of the game known as carom billiards, pocket billiards, pool, three cushion billiards and English billiards. The term "billiard room" shall mean any public place where the game of billiards is permitted to be played.

No dice shall be thrown for money, nor shall cards, raffles, or other games of chance, or any form of gambling be permitted in any billiard room or in the room in which said tables are located, or at any cigar store or stand or any other business conducted in the same room.

This section, however, shall not be construed to prevent the giving of cash or merchandise prizes to billiard players in tournaments, league or any other competitive play.

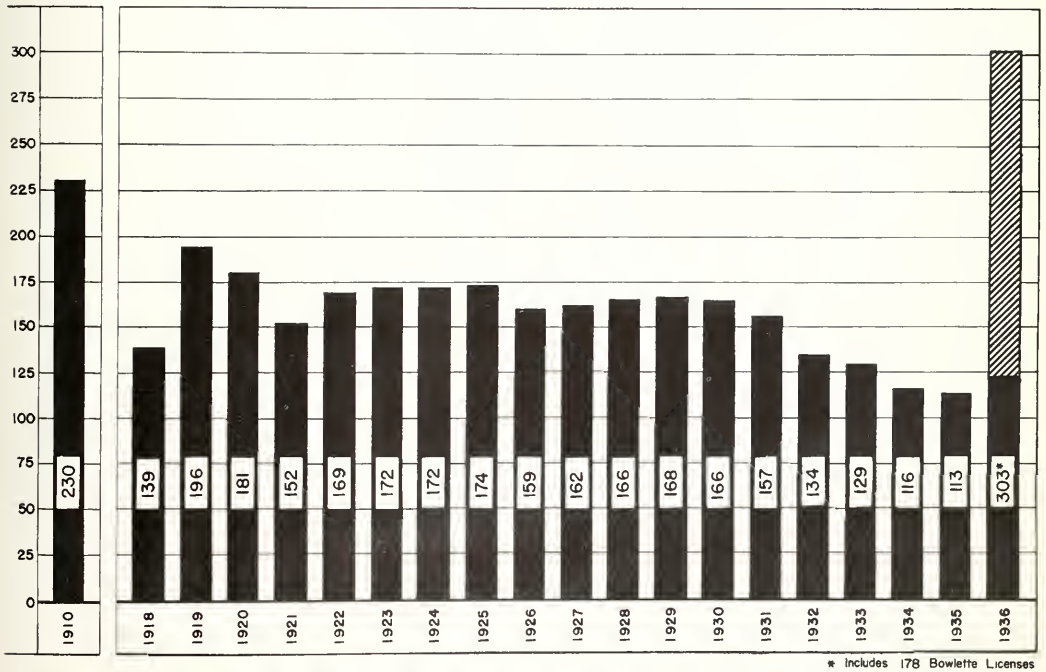
1940. Condition of premises.] All billiard rooms shall be kept at all times in a clean, healthful and sanitary condition, and shall comply with all ordinances now in force, or which shall hereafter be enacted, regulating the same, and shall be subject to all sanitary rules and regulations prescribed therefor by the health department; and the billiard commission shall have the power to call upon the commissioner of health and the commissioner of buildings, for the purpose of reporting violations and seeing that the health ordinances and the ordinances regulating buildings are complied with in such billiard rooms.

1941. Screen and partitions prohibited.] No person, society, club, firm or corporation conducting, maintaining or operating a billiard room shall allow or permit any screens, curtains, blinds, partitions or other obstructions to be placed between



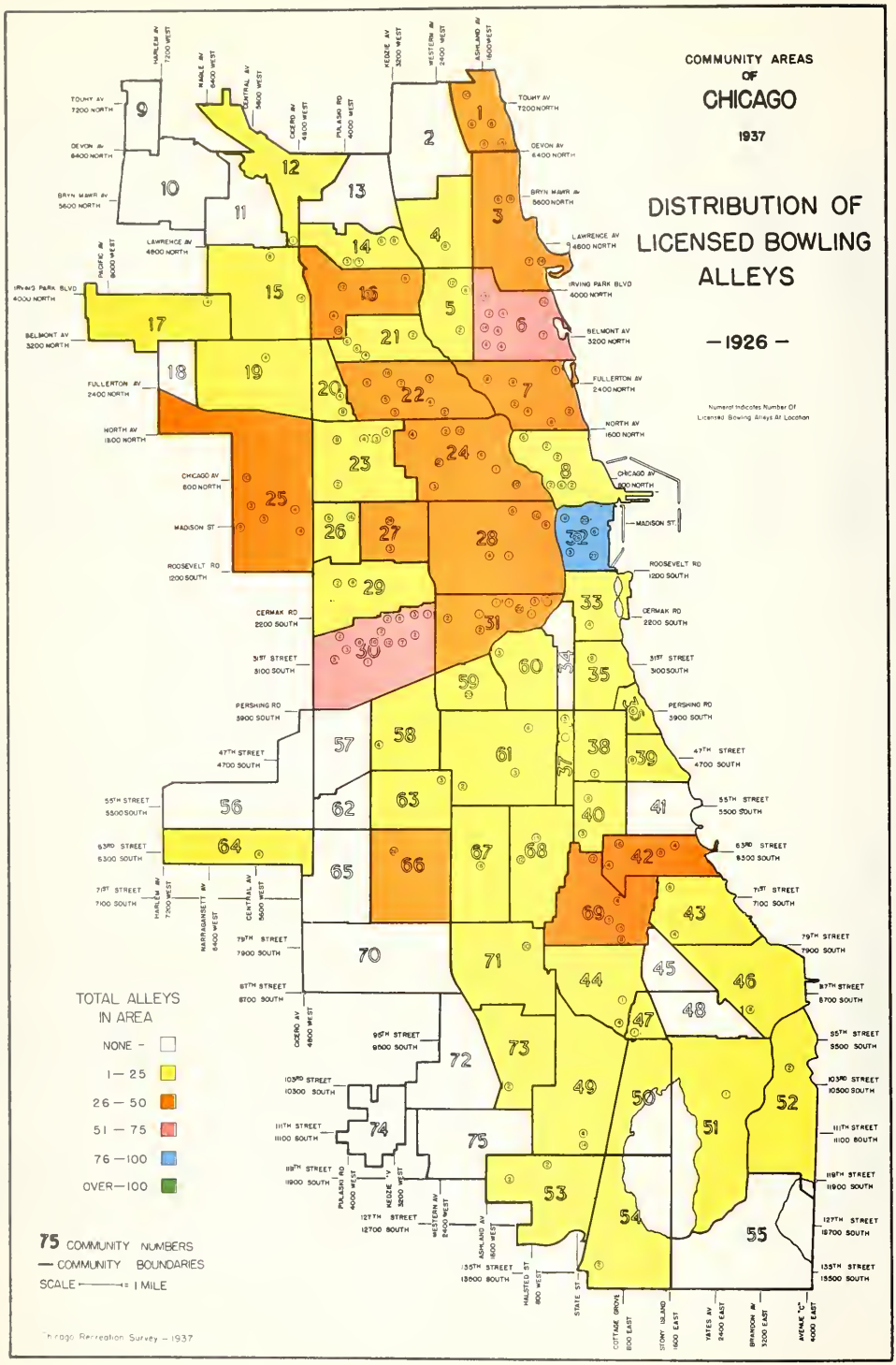
* Includes 178 Bowlette Licenses

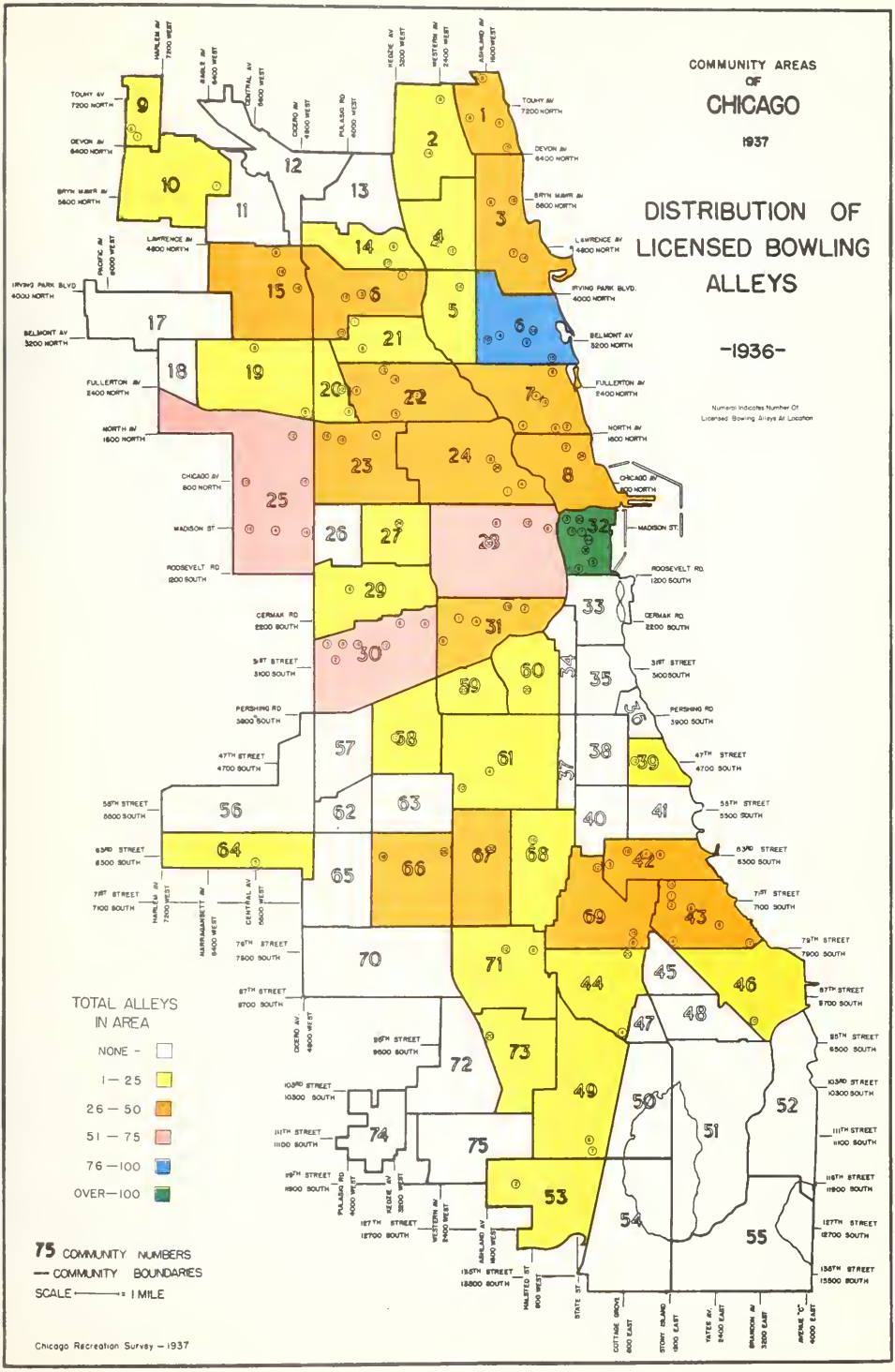
LICENSE FEES SECURED FROM BOWLING ALLEYS 1926–1936



* Includes 178 Bowlette Licenses

NUMBER OF LICENSED BOWLING ESTABLISHMENTS CITY OF CHICAGO 1910–1936


COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
DISTRIBUTION OF
LICENSED BOWLING
ALLEYS
— 1926 —
Numeral Indicates Number Of
Licensed Bowling Alleys At Location
TOTAL ALLEYS
IN AREA
NONE -
1 — 25
26 — 50
51 — 75
76 — 100
OVER — 100
75 COMMUNITY NUMBERS
— COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES
SCALE ⟵⟶ 1 MILE
Chicago Recreation Survey — 1937


COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
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-1936-
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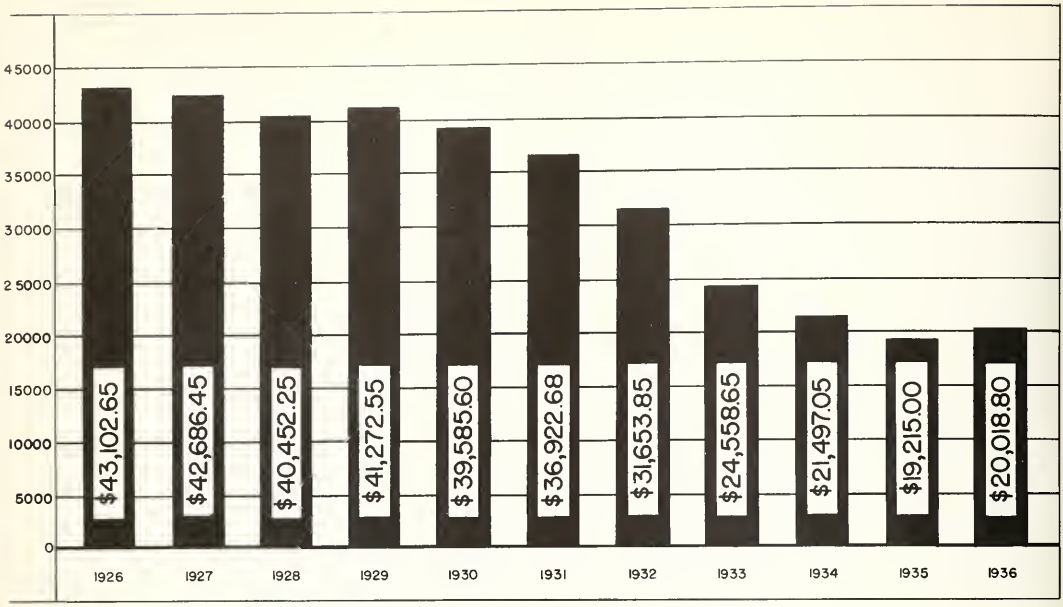
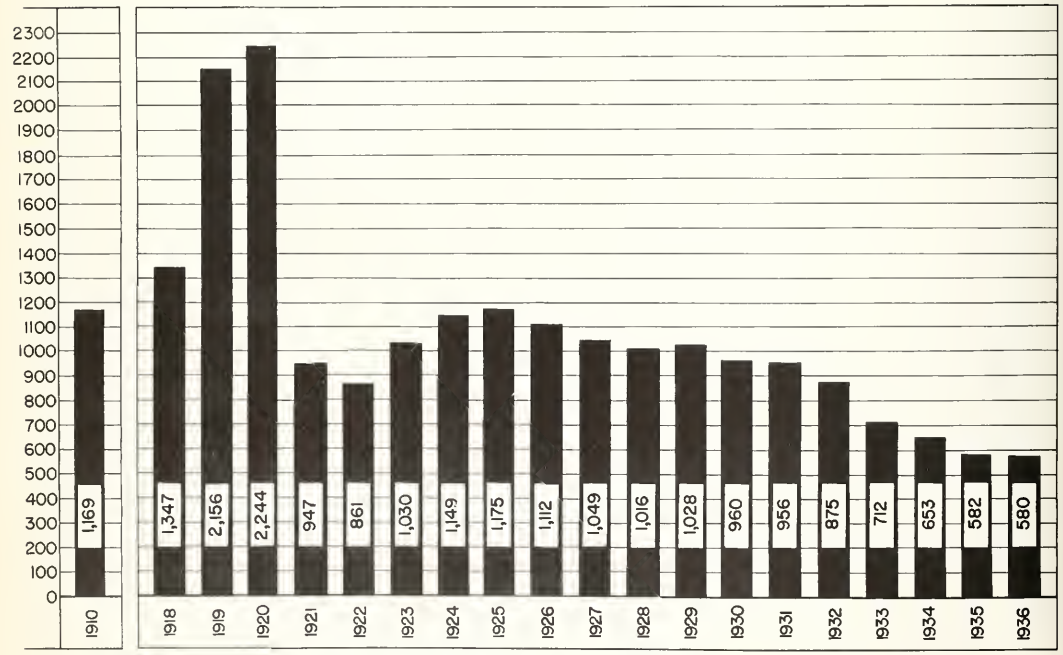


LICENSE FEES SECURED FROM BILLIARD TABLES 1926–1936



NUMBER OF LICENSED BILLIARD HALLS — CITY OF CHICAGO 1910–1936

the front windows and back or rear wall of such billiard room, but an unobstructed view of the entire interior from the front entrance must be maintained at all times. No partition, forming rooms, stalls, or other enclosures where the public congregate shall be permitted. This provision, however, shall not be construed to preclude the maintenance of washrooms or toilet rooms for proper purposes, or the maintenance of closets for storing purposes exclusively.

1942. Connection with gambling or immoral places.] It shall be unlawful, in any billiard room licensed under this article, to maintain or permit to be maintained any open or secret connections, through doors, windows, trap doors, panels, stairways or other devices, with any place where gambling is conducted or where persons congregate for immoral purposes.

1943. License to be posted—suspension and revocation of licenses.] Every licensee under this article shall keep his license posted in his billiard room, in accordance with the requirements of this ordinance as set forth in the chapter on licenses.

Licenses granted under this article may, in the discretion of the commissioner of police, be suspended for a period not to exceed thirty days, upon the recommendation of the commission, or may be revoked by the mayor, upon the recommendation of the commission and the approval of the commissioner of police, for disorderly or immoral conduct on the premises, or for the violation of any of the rules, regulations or ordinances of the city or laws of the state governing or applying to billiard rooms. Licenses when so suspended or revoked may be reissued by the mayor to the owner of the license so suspended or revoked if said owner shall present satisfactory evidence that the cause which resulted in the suspension or revocation has ceased or terminated; provided, however, that when the license has been twice revoked and restored it shall not again be restored by the mayor except upon the recommendation of the commission, the approval of the commissioner of police and the concurrence of the city council.

1945. Penalty.] Any person, society, club, firm or corporation that shall operate a billiard room within the city without having obtained a license as provided in this article, or that shall violate any of the other provisions of this article for which no penalty is specifically provided, shall be fined not less than ten dollars nor more than two hundred dollars for each offense, and every day that a violation shall continue shall constitute a separate and distinct offense.

Until 1922 the Billiard Commission of the city functioned as a part of the Athletic Commission. While its membership still coincides with that of the Athletic Commission, since 1922 it has been a separate entity and has functioned as an individual unit. The Commission is located in the city hall in offices which it shares with the Committee on Recreation and Aviation of the City Council. Records of all billiard establishments in the city are classified through a dual filing system arranged according to street addresses and also alphabetically by the names of proprietors. Its annual expenditures since 1930 have been as follows:

Year	*Expenditures*	*Year*	*Expenditures*
1930	$4,990.40	1934	$6,001.07
1931	5,922.64	1935	6,889.19
1932	5,329.30	1936	6,756.48
1933	5,947.06		

With the exception of the examination fees derived from applicants for billiard licenses, which during these same years varied from $1,433.00 in 1931 down to $787.00 in 1936, its financial support is secured through the general corporate funds of the city. During 1936 its funds were expended as follows:

Items	*Amounts expended*
Salary—secretary	$2,144.26
Expense not otherwise appropriated	95.00
Expense of investigations	4,517.22
Total	$6,756.48

It will be observed that $4,517.22 was expended for "investigations," although according to the secretary the average number of establishments investigated is only about forty per year. Upon receiving an application for a license, police records are checked to determine whether the applicant has ever been convicted of a serious crime; also conformance to the zoning regulation is required. Upon the approval of the Billiard Commission licenses are issued through the City License Department.

Bowling Alleys

The game of bowling or ten pins, as played today, owes its origin in 1875 to the addition of one pin to the game of nine pins to circumvent the "blue laws" then prevalent against that game in New York State. In 1885 the commercial possi-

bilities of bowling became evident when patrons of a New York restaurant were so anxious to bowl that they expressed a willingness to pay for the privilege of using the alleys which the proprietor had established for his personal use in the basement. For many years thereafter bowling alleys were frequently installed by saloon keepers as a means of additional diversion for their customers and as a supplement to the major revenue derived from patronage at the bar.

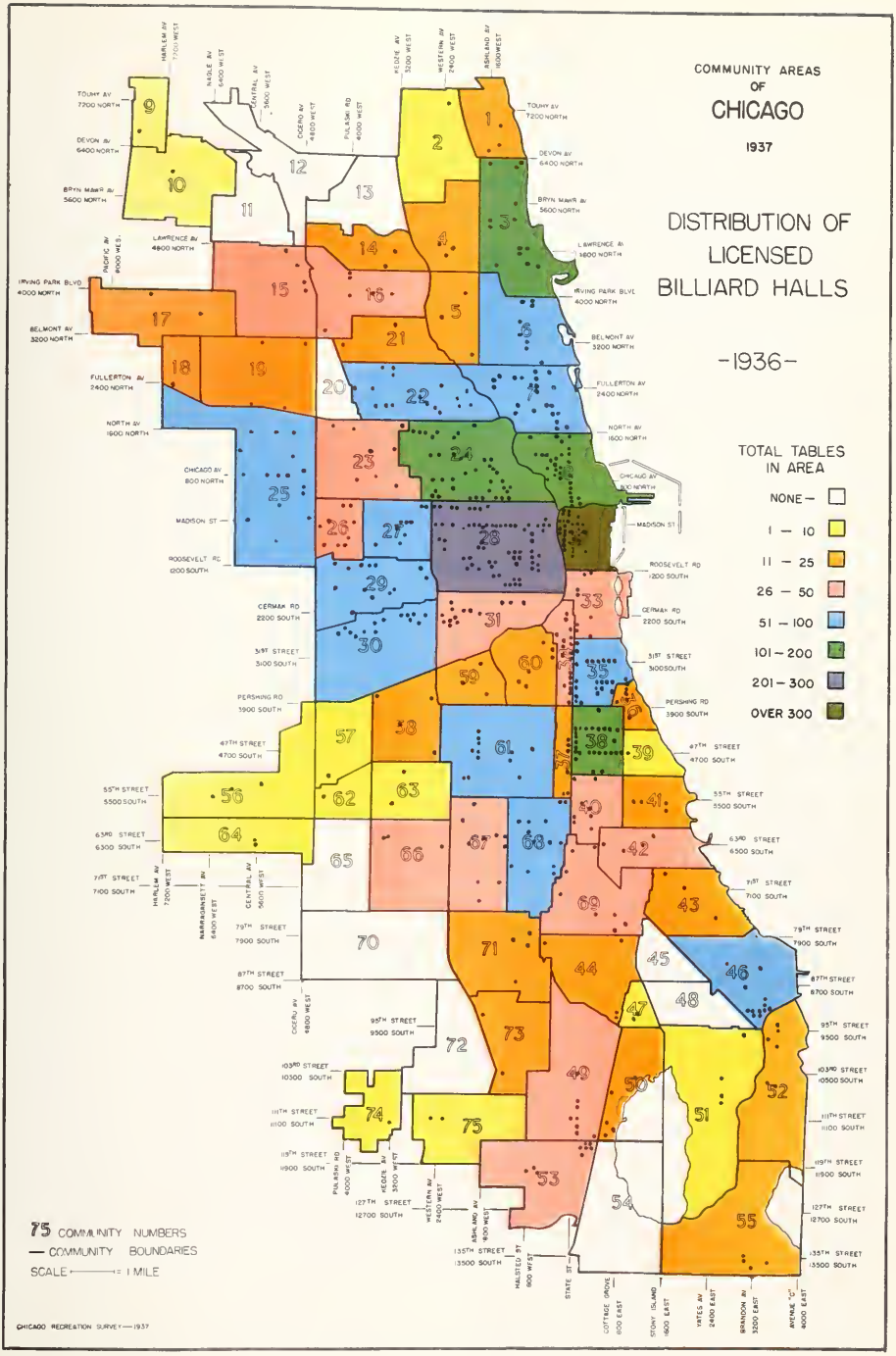
By 1895 interest in the game throughout the country resulted in formation of the American Bowling Congress. Through this organization, composed of leaders in the game, rules and regulations were established, which for the first time made possible playing this game uniformly throughout the country. In 1901 as a result of the tremendous interest and to stimulate the game further, the American Bowling Congress conducted in Chicago its first annual tournament with forty-five teams competing. Each succeeding year the number of teams competing and the interest shown throughout the country have reflected the increase in popularity of bowling as a sport. The 1937 tournament, held in New York City, attracted 4,017 five-men teams, 5,883 two-men teams and 11,755 individual bowlers. An entry fee of five dollars per man per event is assessed against all competitors. Approximately $200,000 in cash prizes is distributed. For this reason all who compete in sanctioned tournaments of the ABC, as the American Bowling Congress is generally known, are classed as professionals, even though the great majority of competitors do not derive their livelihood from this sport. For this same reason attempts to have bowling included in the schedule of events of the international Olympic games have been frustrated.

Until 1918, as has been implied, bowling was very closely allied with retail liquor establishments, or saloons, as the unvarnished language of that period designated them. However, the prohibition amendment passed in that year outlawing the saloon shifted the emphasis on bowling from the status of a side-issue or minor adjunct to that of a major form of recreation. Accordingly the past twenty years have seen the development of large bowling and billiard establishments housed in specially designed structures, providing more adequate facilities. The more modern bowling establishments of today are ideally lighted, sound proofed, and air conditioned, with special provisions for spectators as well as players.

With these developments and improved facilities and surroundings has come a rapid growth of interest on the part of women, first as spectators and shortly thereafter as enthusiastic participants in the game. It is estimated that there are now more than 10,000 bowling establishments in the United States with between 30,000 and 40,000 alleys, serving a patronage of more than 11,000,000 individuals. An analysis of the total patronage in several large cities indicates that more than thirty per cent of the bowlers in these communities are women. Estimated conservatively, the number of women competing throughout the country has been placed at one million.

Based upon a $1,500.00 unit cost the value of bowling alleys in the United States is estimated to be close to $50,000,000.00. In an analysis of amusement business conducted by the United States Department of Commerce in 1935, it was revealed that billiard and pool parlors and bowling alleys, which were considered as a separate classification, represented 32.9 per cent of the total number of places of amusement, accounted for 6.2 per cent of the total receipts, 13.3 per cent of the total number of employees and 6.7 per cent of the total pay roll. In the 5,545 establishments reporting there were 17,011 employees of whom 10,815 were on a full-time basis. Of the total number employed only 304 or 1.8 per cent were women. Thirty-three per cent of the bowling and billiard establishments for which information was secured are located in cities of 100,000 or more. These establishments accounted for 44.1 per cent of the total receipts, 47.4 per cent of the total number of employees, and 53 per cent of the total pay roll.

During 1937 the country's largest manufacturer of bowling and billiard equipment established a foundation for the purpose of developing interest in these sports and for providing modern equipment in those communities inadequately served. Proponents of the game have recommended it not only on the basis of the physical exercise derived from participation, but also because of the socializ-


COMMUNITY AREAS
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— COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES
SCALE: 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY — 1937

ing by-products of team play and competition. Moreover, it is accorded a further advantage in that an individual need not be skilled in order to enjoy bowling.

Within recent years concerted efforts have been made in the larger cities throughout the country to develop interest among youth of high-school age in bowling as a sport, special instruction and reduced rates being provided during the afternoon. Through air conditioning and the promotion of the duck pin* variety of bowling, efforts are being made to encourage year-round participation in the sport.

The first regulation bowling alley in the city of Chicago was installed in 1891 in the Plaza Hotel, situated at Clark Street and North Avenue.† By 1910 the number of licensed bowling establishments in the city had increased to 230. Then followed such a gradual but notable decrease in the number of establishments that only 139 were licensed in 1918, the last year of the World War and also the date of the passage of the eighteenth amendment, which for the time being wiped out the saloon. But in 1919 the number of licensed locations increased by more than 41 per cent. From that time until 1930, when the effects of the depression resulted in the curtailment of expenditures for amusements, the number of alleys showed a steady increase, although many individual establishments were closed, being succeeded by larger and more modern establishments. From 1930 through 1935 a steady decline in the number of locations and the total number of alleys resulted from the unemployment and inadequate incomes of large numbers who had heretofore patronized these establishments. The upturn in business conditions in 1936 was reflected by an increase in both the number of establishments and the total number of alleys in Chicago.

In his 1926 study of recreation in Chicago Dr. Ernest W. Burgess of the University of Chicago found that the 168 licensed bowling alleys in the city included 1,081 individual alleys. In 1934, although the number of establishments had decreased to 114, the number of alleys had increased to 1,233. Similarly in 1935, 112 establishments had a total of 1,254 alleys. In 1936 the 123 regular licensed bowling alleys included 1,310 alleys. In addition, during 1936 the City Council established a license fee of two dollars for each pin game or "bowlette," which for the most part were located in the taverns and hotels throughout the city. One hundred and seventy-eight of these devices were licensed through this ordinance. However, in May of 1936 the Council declared these pin games to be unlawful, and as a result this licensing provision was repealed. Many of these bowlettes, however, continued to operate although unlicensed throughout 1937.

Of the 168 locations for which bowling licenses were reported in 1926, only 49 or 28.8 per cent were licensed in 1936. This indicates the high mortality rate in the industry. However, it should be pointed out that these 49 establishments included 42.5 per cent of the 1926 alleys, and 35 per cent of the 1936 total. A study of all licenses issued in 1926, 1934, 1935 and 1936 indicates that during these four years 517 licenses were issued to 254 different establishments, of which 39 were licensed in each year, 58 in three of the four years, 30 in two years, and 127 for one year only. The number of alleys per establishment during these same years varied from 1 to 44, the largest number of establishments having eight alleys.

During 1935 a total of $5,985 was received by the city in bowling license fees. In 1936, exclusive of "bowlette" licenses, the amount was $6,339.50. In each year more than fifty per cent of the total license fees were derived from approximately one-fourth of the establishments. It has already been pointed out that bowling alleys and billiard tables are frequently provided in the same establishments. Of the 123 bowling alleys licensed in 1936, 79 establishments, representing 985 of the 1,310 alleys, also provided billiards. The addresses of 80 licensed bowling establishments were also the locations of licensed retail liquor establishments. One hundred and fifty-eight of the 178 "bowlette" licenses issued in 1936 were located in retail liquor establishments. Forty-four of the recreation centers providing both bowling and billiards also had retail liquor licenses. It should be pointed out that the proprietors of bowling alleys in which are also situ-

*In duck pin bowling, a lighter ball and smaller pins are used, requiring less physical effort by the bowler.

†It will have been observed that in the discussion of the historical aspects of billiards in Chicago the legal references quoted applied to bowling as well as to billiards.

ated retail liquor establishments regard bowling as their primary activity, and devote all of their time to the promotion of this game, while in many instances the retail liquor phase of the business is merely a concession.

The cost of operation of bowling alleys involves a considerable investment in overhead, and therefore requires steady patronage to return a profit to the proprietor. Because of this factor, bowling alleys are usually located in the more populous major business districts of the city rather than in residential areas. It will be observed that zoning and other legal restrictions usually prevent the intrusion of these establishments in other than business and commercial districts. A study of the distribution of licensed bowling alleys in 1926 and in 1936 shows that the Loop area has by far the greater number of alleys. Likewise, Milwaukee Avenue, Clark and Halsted Streets, and Broadway, all of them street-car lines, account for 47 per cent of the total number of locations licensed in 1936. The accompanying maps indicate the distribution of bowling alleys in the city of Chicago among the seventy-five community areas. It will be observed that in 1926 there were twenty community areas which had no bowling establishments. This number had increased to 31 in 1936. Similarly, consistent with the trend toward large bowling and recreation centers, the number of small establishments had been decreased in the ten-year period, these establishments having been supplanted by a fewer number of larger centers.

Rates for the use of bowling alleys in Chicago are for the most part uniform throughout the city, inasmuch as they are established by the Bowling and Billiard Proprietor's Association. During 1937 the rates were as follows:

Day time (until 5 o'clock).....20 cents per line
Evening .....25 cents per line
Leagues (for three games).....$1.35
Duck pins .....20 cents per line

In order to stimulate bowling among high-school students, a special afternoon rate of fifty cents for three games is in force. Rates for afternoon league games and other special events deviate somewhat from the above, as established by the individual proprietor in each instance.

It is estimated that 1,400 are employed on a full-time basis in the operation of bowling alleys in Chicago. Of these about 1,200 are classed as "pin boys"; the term "boy" does not indicate an age group in that the range is from 18 years to over fifty in some instances. In the Loop district colored pin boys predominate. The average weekly wages for full-time pin boys is about $16.00; in the Loop the rate of pay is 5 cents a line and in outlying districts 6 cents. Supplementing the full-time staff are 800 part-time boys, three-fourths of whom are high-school students, who average $1.00 per day at the same rates. Within the past year an organization of pin boys has been effected and ninety-nine establishments with 1,323 alleys are now unionized.

It is estimated that including all who bowl either occasionally or habitually, the number of Chicagoans who follow this sport approximates 500,000 individuals. Accepting the statement that the wages of pin boys represent one-fourth of the average charge for bowling, and with the season set conservatively at forty weeks, it is estimated that 14,000,000 games are played annually in the city at a cost of more than $3,000,000. These figures probably are conservative in that there is some play during the twelve summer weeks. Evidence of the popularity of the game is the fact that league reservations render very difficult open play in the evenings.* There are more than 900 leagues in the city of Chicago, of which 489 were sanctioned in 1936 by the American Bowling Congress. More than 9,000 teams compete on regular schedules in these leagues in the late afternoon and evening. Leading industrial establishments, breweries and sporting goods houses sponsor the outstanding teams of the city. In addition, civic groups, church organizations, schools and many other groups furnish the membership in the various other leagues. During 1937, with the cooperation of the Board of Education of Chicago, bowling alley owners established a corps of in-

*It is not possible in this study to include an analysis of the qualitative aspects of bowling and billiard establishments in Chicago. According to close followers of these games, however, there is a wide variation in the condition of the facilities provided in these establishments; in some instances bowling proprietors, for example, because the league demands far exceed the capacities of their alleys, have adopted a practice of replacing pins less frequently and of conditioning the surface of their alleys less regularly than heretofore. Likewise, it is alleged that some of the billiard establishments of the city still are used as "hangouts" for disreputable elements of the community. However, it is not to be inferred that all billiard and bowling establishments provide inferior equipment or encourage unsocial practices.

structors who assisted high-school boys in learning the game. Probably the greatest stimulus to the development of women's participation in bowling in Chicago has been the annual tournament of the *Chicago Evening American*, held each March with the co-operation of the various bowling groups. In this tournament more than ten thousand women, varying from the novice groups to those regarded as experts in the sport, enter into active competition.

Each of the larger newspapers in the city of Chicago has on its sporting staff a bowling editor who publicizes this activity, and releases data regarding tournaments and leagues.

The operation of commercial bowling alleys in the city of Chicago is regulated through licensing powers of the city. In addition to the general amusement regulations, the following statutes apply specifically to the operation of bowling alleys:[1]

1946. License required.] No person shall have, keep or conduct for profit within the city any bowling or pin and ball alley, without first obtaining a license therefor as hereinafter provided, under a penalty of not less than five dollars nor more than one hundred dollars for each offense.

The words "bowling or pin and ball alley" wherever used in this article shall be held to include bowling alleys, pin-and-ball alleys, box ball alleys, skee-ball alleys and all alleys of similar character.

1947. License—special requirements—approval—fee—transfer.] Any person desiring to have, keep or conduct any bowling or pin and ball alley for profit in the city, shall make application therefor in writing, which said application shall conform to the general provisions of this ordinance relating to applications for licenses, and in his application shall include answers and information on the following points: Name, residence, citizenship, employment or business of applicant during previous five years, whether or not the applicant was ever convicted of a felony or misdemeanor, whether or not the applicant owns real estate and the value of same. Such applicant shall also give three persons for references who are householders in the city of Chicago. Such application shall be referred to the commissioner of police for investigation as to the moral status of the applicant and the moral conditions surrounding the proposed location, and the commissioner of police shall transmit to the mayor the result of his investigations. The license fee for each bowling or pin and ball alley shall be five dollars. Such license fee shall be paid to the city collector by the applicant before the issuance of a license. Upon payment of such license fee, in case the mayor approves the application, a license shall be issued to such applicant, attested by the city clerk, authorizing the keeping, conducting or operating of such bowling or pin and ball alley or alleys at the place described in such application, for and during the term of such license.

If at the time of the application for a license under the provisions of this article less than three months of the current license year shall have expired, the applicant for a license shall be required to pay the full annual license fee hereinbefore provided; if three months or more, but less than six months, have expired, he shall be required to pay three-fourths of the annual license fee; if six months or more, but less than nine months, have expired, the applicant shall be required to pay one-half of the annual license fee; if nine months or more of the current license year have expired, the applicant shall be required to pay one-fourth of the annual license fee hereinbefore specified; and no license hereunder shall be issued for less than one-fourth of the annual fee.

No license granted under the provisions of this article shall be assigned or transferred to any other person, firm or corporation, nor shall any such license authorize any person, firm or corporation other than the licensee named therein to do business or act under such license, unless the licensee and the applicant for such transfer shall have obtained the written consent of the commissioner of police.

1948. Bowling alleys—frontage consents.] It shall not be lawful for any person, firm or corporation to keep, use or operate any bowling or pin and ball alley or alleys in any building, structure or place located upon any street or alley in the city in any block in which two-thirds of the buildings on both sides of the street in such block between the two nearest intersecting streets are used exclusively for residence purposes without the written consent of a majority of the owners of the property, according to frontage, on both sides of such street or alley between such intersecting streets. In all cases where required by the provisions of this section, such written consents shall accompany the application for a license, unless the same shall have been previously presented upon application for a building permit, as provided for in part 4 of this ordinance.

1949. Hours of operating bowling alley—penalty.] No person, firm or corporation shall keep

[1] *Revised Chicago Code of 1931*, ch. 37, art. 4, sec. 1946-1949.

open or operate any bowling alley or alleys, or pin and ball alley or alleys, between the hours of one o'clock A.M. and seven o'clock A.M. Any person, firm or corporation violating the provisions of this section shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not less than five dollars nor more than twenty-five dollars for each offense, and each day that such bowling or pin and ball alley or alleys are kept open or operated within such prohibited hours shall constitute a separate and distinct offense.

Any person, firm or corporation that shall violate, neglect or fail to comply with any of the provisions of this article, where no other penalty is specifically provided, shall be fined not less than five dollars nor more than one hundred dollars for each offense, and each day that the violation continues shall be regarded as constituting a distinct and separate offense.

During 1933, both as a revenue-producing measure and also as a means of control, the City Council authorized the licensing of "bowlettes," coin-operated devices of the bagatelle or pin game variety. However, in May of 1936 the following amendment, which declared pin games to be unlawful, was passed.[1]

1949a. Games prohibited.] It shall be unlawful for any person to keep or use in any place of public resort within the city of Chicago any tables or implements for any game of bagatelle or pigeonhole.

The term "bagatelle or pigeonhole," as used in this article, shall mean a game played with any number of balls or spheres upon a table or board having holes, pockets or cups into which such balls or spheres may drop or become lodged and having arches, pins, and springs, or any of them, to control, deflect or impede the direction or speed of the balls or spheres put in motion by the player, and shall include the modern variety of bagatelle or pigeonhole commonly known as pin games.

The term "place of public resort," as used in this article, shall mean any premises wherein any service or merchandise is offered for sale to the public or where tables or implements for playing the game of bagatelle or pigeonhole are kept for gain or profit, or any premises used as a club house or club rooms.

1949b. Penalty.] Any person who shall violate the provisions of this article shall be fined not less than ten dollars nor more than two hundred dollars for each offense, and each day that the violation continues shall be regarded as constituting a distinct and separate offense.

1949c. Seizure.] It is hereby made the duty of every policeman to seize any table or implement kept or used in violation of this article and, upon conviction of the keeper thereof, such table or implement so seized shall be destroyed. Any person obstructing or resisting any policeman in the performance of any act authorized by this section shall be fined not less than twenty-five dollars nor more than two hundred dollars for each offense.

[1] *Chicago Council Proceedings*, May 6, 1936, p. 1638.

CHAPTER VI

BASEBALL, BASKETBALL, AND FOOTBALL

Baseball

The popularity of baseball in the United States is attested by the fact that for many years it has been recognized as "America's national pastime." It is generally agreed that the game of baseball originated in the United States in 1839 at Cooperstown, New York. This birthplace of the game has been recognized within recent years through the establishment of a national shrine and museum at its site. For the first thirty years of the game baseball was essentially an amateur sport. During this period, however, as interest increased and the calibre of play improved, admission fees were charged for the more outstanding match contests. In 1868 the Cincinnati Club was established as the first salaried team. By 1871 the first professional baseball association was established, and in 1876 the National League began its first season. The American League was established in 1901, and these two leagues have continued to dominate the game since that time. In 1905 the modern World Series was inaugurated, through which the world's professional baseball championship is decided annually by a series between the champions of the two major leagues at the end of the regular season. In 1921, after the future of professional baseball had been placed in jeopardy by the uncovering of a gambling scandal involving players in the 1919 world series, the professional leagues elected Federal Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis as High Commissioner. Judge Landis has continued in that capacity, and since 1921 there has been no major gambling scandal in professional baseball. The eight teams comprising each league play an annual schedule of 154 games, half of which are played at the home park.

The huge specially constructed parks in all of the cities providing major league baseball testify to the commercial aspects of the game. In 1936 the capacities of these major league parks were as follows:

National League

Boston—Braves field	45,000
Brooklyn—Ebbets field	35,000
Chicago—Wrigley field	38,000
Cincinnati—Crosley field	33,000
New York—Polo grounds	50,000
Philadelphia—Baker field	20,000
Pittsburgh—Forbes field	35,000
St. Louis—Sportsman park*	30,000

American League

Boston—Fenway park	35,000
Chicago—Comiskey park	50,000
Cleveland—Dunn field	28,000
Detroit—Navin field	45,000
New York—Yankee stadium	65,000
Philadelphia—Shibe park	25,000
St. Louis—Sportsman park*	30,000
Washington—Griffith stadium	30,000

*Used by both American and National League teams.

It has been estimated that the annual cost of operating a major league team can be set conservatively at $500,000. Of this amount approximately fifty per cent is expended for players' salaries; the balance is devoted to purchasing new talent, maintaining and operating the physical plant and equipment, and financing spring training trips.[1] Thus it can readily be seen that a tremendous patronage is necessary to provide a profit to the owners of these teams. With the ever increasing number of other leisure-time attractions, professional baseball faces stiff competition. In 1920 a total of approximately nine million attended the games of the two major leagues. In 1930 a ten per cent increase was shown. Due largely to generally unfavorable economic conditions, attendance at big league games since that time has shown a decrease. However, the 1937 total of 9,447,497 may indicate an upturn in baseball interest, inasmuch as it reflected an increase of eleven per cent over the 1936 figure of 8,585,000. It naturally follows that other things being equal, attendance at commercial sporting

[1] *Literary Digest*, June 27, 1936.

events is larger in those communities where the better teams are located. During 1936 and 1937, for example, when New York and Detroit dominated the American League, and New York and Chicago led in the National League, attendance during the two major league seasons consistently followed this trend. (See table following)

National League

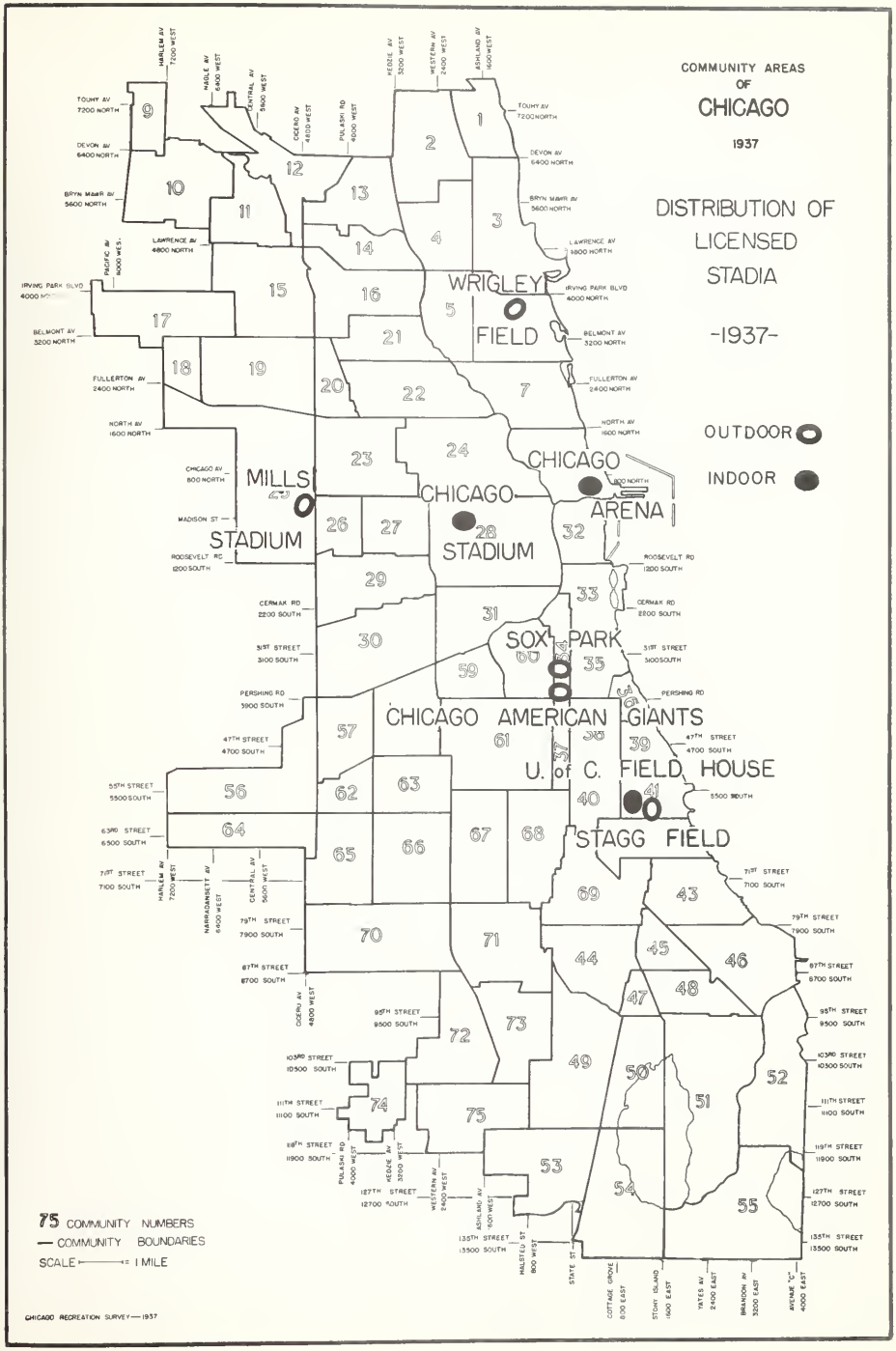
	1937	*1936*
New York	991,097	850,000
Chicago	950,000	800,000
Pittsburgh	525,000	425,000
St. Louis	490,922	500,000
Brooklyn	484,482	600,000
Cincinnati	450,000	490,000
Boston	275,000	225,000
Philadelphia	250,000	260,000
Total	4,416,501	4,150,000

American League

	1937	*1936*
Detroit	1,181,000	1,020,000
New York	1,141,996	1,100,000
Chicago	595,000	550,000
Boston	578,000	600,000
Cleveland	570,000	475,000
Philadelphia	435,000	250,000
Washington	400,000	350,000
St. Louis	130,000	90,000
Total	5,030,996	4,435,000

In addition to the two major leagues where the quality of play is supposedly the highest, there are also many minor leagues operating in more than one hundred and fifty cities and towns throughout the country. These various leagues are classified according to the size of the community supporting them, and the majority are affiliated with the National Association of Professional Baseball Leagues, which functions in close relationship with the two major leagues. While there were more than sixty minor leagues operating in 1920, in 1933 this number had been reduced to less than twenty-five. This is partially attributed to the unfavorable economic conditions of the three preceding years, which made it impossible for many communities to support such teams. Because of the fact that minor league teams have for many years been the source of new talent for the two major leagues, clubs of both the National and American Leagues have recently adopted a two-fold policy of operating minor league clubs on a chain-store basis, providing the necessary capital, and establishing working relationships with minor league clubs.

Two innovations introduced within the past decade have had a marked effect on both major and minor league professional baseball. In many communities the introduction of night baseball, putting commercial baseball in direct competition with other forms of night entertainment, has solved the financial problem. The broadcasting of baseball direct from the ball park in many cities has increased interest in the local teams and patronage has shown the effects of it. In 1937 it is estimated that professional baseball games were broadcast from more than seventy-five ball parks each day. The entertainment value of the broadcasts has been recognized, and in almost every instance they have been sponsored to advertise commercial products. The experiment of free ladies' days at major league ball parks during the week has increased the paid patronage of women on other days. Because of the tremendous interest in baseball in the United States, the sports sections of all the large metropolitan newspapers devote considerable lineage to the sport. Each day complete summaries of the previous day's game, together with colorful human interest stories appear, written by reporters who are assigned to travel with the teams throughout the leagues during the season. Even during the middle of winter, baseball occupies a prominent place on the sports page due to the various trade rumors developed to sustain the interest of fans during the winter, or "hot stove league season," as it is more familiarly known. To further stimulate interest in the game, the American League has for the past three years provided a unique moving picture lecture service in which instruction is given on the proper techniques of playing the various positions. These pictures have been exhibited at athletic clubs, educational institutions, and civic meetings, and have met with an enthusiastic reception. It is expected that with the continued development of this type of project, professional baseball will be affected in at least two ways: an increased patronage of more intelligent spectators, who can appreciate the finer points of the game; and improvement in playing


COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
DISTRIBUTION OF
LICENSED
STADIA
-1937-
OUTDOOR
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WRIGLEY
FIELD
CHICAGO
ARENA
MILLS
STADIUM
CHICAGO
STADIUM
SOX
PARK
CHICAGO AMERICAN GIANTS
U. of C. FIELD HOUSE
STAGG FIELD
75 COMMUNITY NUMBERS
COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES
SCALE 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY — 1937

ability among the thousands of amateur teams in the country who by way of semi-professional and minor league teams will probably develop into the major league players of tomorrow.

Baseball was introduced into Chicago shortly after the beginning of the game. Historians, in recording the growth of the city in its first century, indicate that baseball was played regularly in the city as early as 1856. In 1869 the first professional club was organized by Potter Palmer, other officials of the club including General Philip Sheridan and George M. Pullman. One year later the Chicago White Stockings, as the team was known, were welcomed by more than 100,000 people upon the team's return from a 157-1 victory over Memphis. In 1876, when the National League was organized, Chicago was represented by the White Stockings, which in 1901 were renamed the Chicago Cubs. The American League started in 1900, with Chicago represented by the White Sox, and since that date, with the exception of the period between 1913 and 1915 during which the outlawed Federal League also operated in the city, Chicago has been represented by these two teams. The Chicago entry in the short-lived Federal League played its home games on the site of the present Cubs Park, which was purchased by the National League Club in 1915. Prior to that date the Cubs games were played on the west side of Chicago.

Each year 154 games of major league baseball are offered in the city, this number being divided equally between the two clubs, with the schedules so arranged that one club plays its home games while the other is on the road away from Chicago.

Since 1903 the White Sox have won the championship of their league three times, while the Cubs have been successful in the National League six times during the same period. The White Sox won the World Series, emblematic of world championship, in 1906 and 1917, while the Cubs were victorious in 1907 and 1908. In recent years the Cubs have represented the National League in the World Series in 1929, 1932 and 1935. On each occasion, however, they were defeated by the American League team. The White Sox have not finished higher than third in the American League standings since 1919, the year in which the World Series scandal involving Sox players in their series with Cincinnati resulted in the disbarment from organized baseball of several of the outstanding stars of the club and the subsequent decline in patronage. With competition between the two clubs for the patronage of Chicago baseball fans, and with a recognized relation between the attendance and the standing of the clubs, which in general is indicative of the quality of baseball played, Chicago sports enthusiasts benefit by the efforts made by each club to strengthen its team. Both the management of the Cubs and the owners of the White Sox have in the past decade expended large sums of money in order to bring to Chicago outstanding major stars and promising prospects from the various minor leagues. Notable instances of this are the reputed $150,000 paid by the White Sox for Willie Kamm and the $200,000 paid by the Cubs for Rogers Hornsby. The drawing power of the various visiting teams is also an important factor in bringing crowds out to the local ball games, and the attendance jumps when such outstanding colorful performers as Babe Ruth, Joe Di Maggio, Dizzy Dean or Bob Feller are with the visiting team. Visits of the New York Yankees to Comiskey Park, even when the Sox were low in the second division, are outstanding examples of what a world's championship team can do at the box office, for in several instances complete sell-outs of the 50,000 capacity ball park were recorded.

In the early days of professional baseball in Chicago it could be said with some degree of truth that the Cubs, with first their west side and then their present location at Addison and Clark Streets, served the west and north sides of the city, and that the Sox, since their park was erected at 3050 South Shields Avenue, derived their patronage from the south side of Chicago. Today many Cub fans live on the south side, and followers of the American League team are to be found throughout all sections of the city. Improved transportation, particularly the automobile, has done much to break down the sectional element in this patronage division. Even now, however, the majority of the patronage at each park still is derived from the general geographical section in which the park is located.

While there are a considerable number who attend games at both parks because of the pleasure they derive from watching baseball, it should be pointed out that the majority of baseball fans in the city of Chicago are enthusiastic supporters of only one of the teams, giving their entire support and patronage to their favorite. Capitalizing upon this partisanship the two clubs have engaged in a city series at the end of most seasons to decide the championship of Chicago. The White Sox at the end of the 1937 season had won this series seventeen times as compared with six Cub victories; in several of the years the Sox provided surprising victories after finishing low in the standings of their own league.

In 1937 the total paid home attendance at the Cub games was 950,000 spectators, an increase of 150,000 over the previous year. During these same years the White Sox drew 595,000 and 550,000, respectively. Each year the Cubs finished in second place in the National League, while the Sox reached their highest standing since 1919, when in both 1936 and 1937 they attained third place in the American League. During both years the pennant race in the National League was relatively close up until the last weeks of the season, while in the American League the New York Yankees were already regarded as the ultimate winner by midseason. This fact had a definite effect at the box office, for the Cubs, being a pennant contender, naturally centered interest around the National League team. To stimulate interest in the team both Chicago clubs permit broadcasting from the ball parks. During 1936 five large Chicago stations, WGN, WBBM, WIND, WJJD and WCFL broadcast under commercial sponsorship. Arrangements completed during the latter part of 1937 provide that sponsors will pay the management of the Cubs and Sox a total of ninety thousand dollars for these broadcasting privileges during 1938. This is in addition to the amount which the individual stations will receive for time and announcers. That Chicago is baseball-minded is evidenced by crowds around loud speakers in stores during the ball games. The Chicago Cub management is regarded as one of the pioneers in the promotion of free days for women as a means of interesting this group in professional baseball. Complimentary tickets are sent to all who request them by mail for ladies' days, which normally are held on each Friday the Cubs are at home. On several occasions during important series it was not possible to accommodate all who requested these tickets. Crowds of ten to fifteen thousand women for these Friday afternoon games are not infrequent. At Comiskey Park where ladies' days are also held on Friday, the procedure varies somewhat in that it is not necessary to write in for tickets. Here also interest on the part of women has been extremely active. It has been observed by some baseball writers that out of these free days has come an intelligent understanding of fundamentals of baseball which was previously lacking in most women who attended the game. Both the Cubs and Sox owners encourage the attendance of school children by allowing groups of boys and girls under proper adult supervision to witness week-day games during the vacation period. The only charge made is for the regular government tax, ten cents per head. During 1937 more than 70,000 boys, members of school patrols, Boy Scout troops, boys' clubs, settlement groups and similar organizations, witnessed games at Wrigley Field. Although the exact number is not available, it is estimated that the Comiskey Park arrangement took care of similar thousands.

While major league professional baseball receives the primary support of Chicago's baseball fans, the semi-professional teams located in the city also have considerable followings. While semi-professional baseball is not as active today as it was a decade ago, there are still more than twenty-five teams which are generally regarded as semi-professional. The term "semi-professional" is usually interpreted as indicating that while the members of the teams are paid for their efforts, the income from this source is generally supplemented by other employment. For example, many of the outstanding players in semi-professional baseball in the city have regular year-around jobs, some of them with the political, commercial or industrial organization sponsoring the teams; but in many instances the employer is in no way related to the baseball activity. Frequently the semi-professional baseball player is engaged upon a per-game salary basis. Often

outstanding players derive a share of the gate receipts. Three enclosed baseball parks with seating capacities of 4,000, 2,700, and 1,500 are the scene of the majority of Chicago's semi-professional baseball games. The Mills Team plays its home games in its own stadium at 4600 West Lake Street, the Duffy Florals Team is housed at Shewbridge Field, 74th and Aberdeen Streets on the southwest side of the city, and the Spencer Coals in its own park at 4200 North Central Avenue. The admission rates vary throughout the season, being as low as ten cents, with sixty-five cents usually the maximum; forty cents is the average general admission charge. These teams usually compete against each other, and in addition, outstanding professional and semi-professional teams from other cities compete in Chicago against these local semi-professional teams. To inject color into the game many of the visiting teams feature unusual costumes such as clown uniforms, grass skirts and natural beards of the "House of David." In addition, such novelties as playing the game on mules are introduced occasionally.

All of the semi-professional parks are lighted for night play, and a considerable portion of the attendance is reported on evenings during the week, supplementing the usual Saturday and Sunday games which are frequently double headers. The American Giants, the local entry in the National Colored Professional League, play a schedule very much like the National and American Leagues, and home games are played at the American Giants Park, 39th and Wentworth, which has a seating capacity of 3,500. Thirty-six home games attract an annual patronage of approximately 25,000. The admission charges are thirty-five cents, fifty cents and seventy-five cents. While the majority of this patronage is derived from the negro population of the city which is heavily concentrated in the vicinity of the park, it is admitted that the quality of baseball played by the American Giants compares favorably with the leading professional games of the country.

It is estimated that more people watch the various "sand lot" games throughout the city than are in attendance at the various professional and semi-professional contests. Many of the teams engaged in these amateur sand lot leagues are sponsored by political and commercial organizations for advertising purposes. However, with few exceptions, no admission charges are assessed at these games, many of which are played on various public park fields of the city where any charge is prohibited. However, where the teams use private property very often supporters make voluntary contributions, and several of the larger athletic clubs add to this income by selling programs with paid advertising. Many outstanding professional baseball players have developed from sand lot baseball.

Softball

The growth of interest in softball in the United States during the past five years has been almost phenomenal. Several factors have contributed to this remarkable acceptance of the game: the increased amount of leisure; the comparatively low cost of equipment; the fact that an individual need not be proficient to enjoy the game; the small space required for its play in comparison with official or hardball; and the fact that it may be played by a wide range in age groups of both sexes without any great danger of physical injury. Due to the fact that its rapid growth has been simultaneous with unfavorable economic conditions, it has been called by some "America's depression game." The game is now played in every state in the Union, the majority of which are represented in the national tournament which is conducted in Chicago each September under the auspices of the *Chicago Evening American.* It is estimated that there are now more than 2,500 regular established softball teams in the city of Chicago which compete in the various leagues throughout the city. While many of these teams represent churches, boys' clubs, civic organizations and community centers, an appreciable number are sponsored by commercial interests of the city. For several reasons, because of the tremendous interest in the game and because of the fact that the cost of equipping and outfitting the team requires considerably less outlay of funds, politicians, small merchants, particularly proprietors of retail liquor establishments, have used this means of advertising extensively. The usual practice is for the sponsor to provide all of the necessary equipment, including uniforms, and very often leather jackets with the name of the sponsor emblazoned are giv-

en to all members of the team. The majority of these teams play their games in the various school yards, parks and playgrounds, and on vacant lots which frequently are conditioned and prepared for use by the sponsoring groups. "Passing the hat" at these latter locations is a common practice.

To provide for night play floodlighting systems have been installed at locations where the more outstanding leagues conduct their games. The semi-professional baseball parks of the city frequently provide this type of softball play, with an admission charge of from fifteen to thirty-five cents. Several parks designed and equipped especially for softball are also used for this night play. That the calibre of softball players in Chicago compares favorably with that of players in professional baseball is attested by the fact that on several occasions when leading semi-professional and softball teams have met playing both official baseball and softball, the softball teams have been victorious.

Basketball

Basketball can scarcely any longer be regarded as a local or minor sport. It has now attained international recognition and following by its inclusion in the Olympic games for the first time in 1936. As this Volume goes to press an American team is on its way to South America for a series of match games. For many years after the game was originated in 1890 its development was retarded primarily because there were no suitable indoor gymnasiums in which it could be played. However, with the recognition of physical education as an integral part of the modern educational system, and the subsequent provision of suitable indoor areas, interest in basketball has risen by leaps and bounds. In 1936 it was estimated that basketball was played regularly by more than 60,000 teams representing colleges, high schools, fraternal and religious organizations, industrial and commercial groups. A conservative estimate of the number of games played annually is set at 1,500,000. During the past decade women have accepted basketball as a sport for active competition. At first they played the game with special rules; many, however, now use the official men's rules.

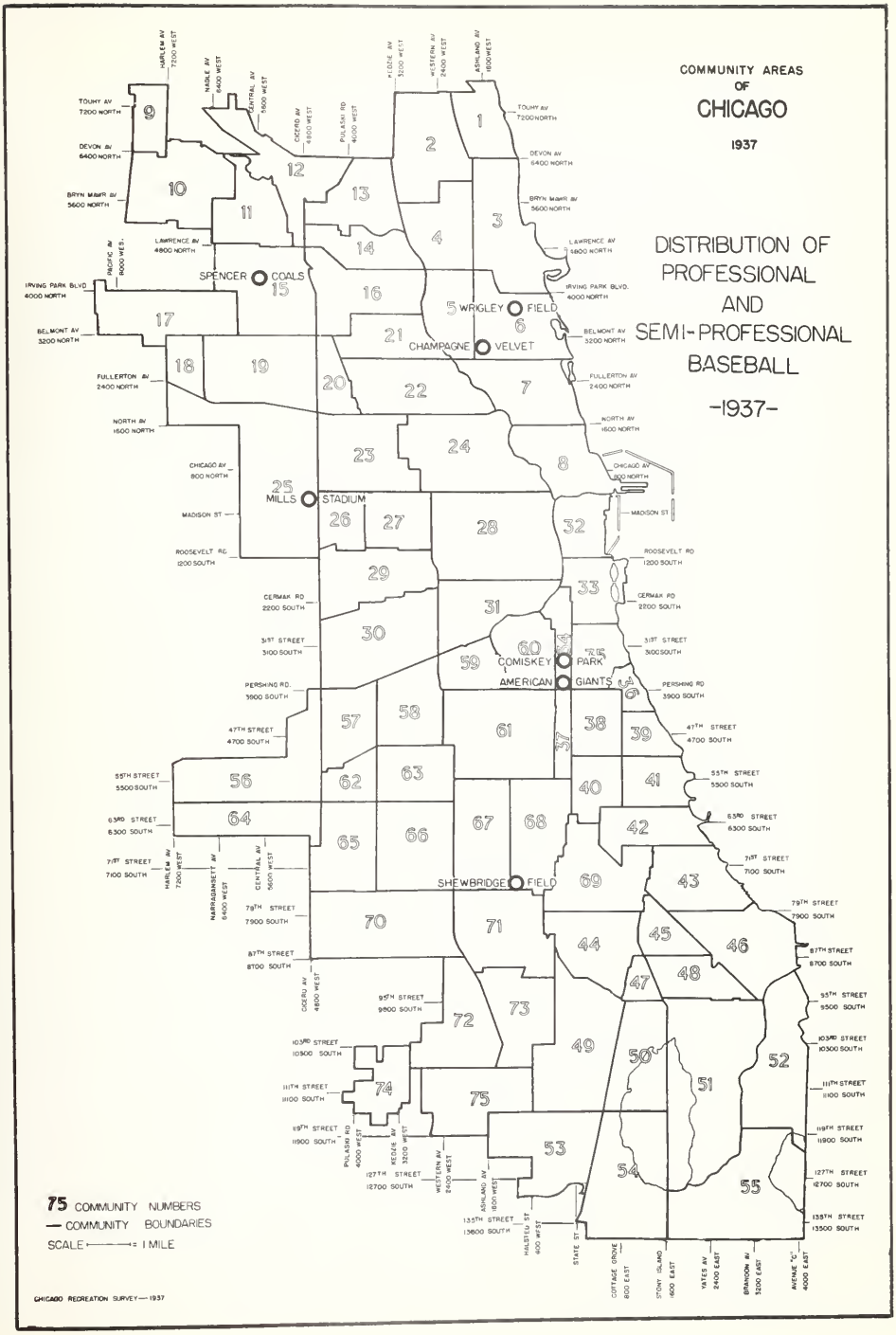
Basketball rates high as a sport in its popularity with spectators; in 1935 the total paid attendance was more than 80,000,000. A considerable portion of this total was derived from the various high-school basketball games. In Indiana, for example, where interest in the game is regarded as the most intense in the whole country, instances of crowds of 7,500 attending interscholastic basketball games in hamlets of less than 750 people are not uncommon. In many sections of the country basketball ranks next to football from the standpoint of financial return. In most of the schools of the Western Intercollegiate Conference only basketball, in addition to football, draws sufficient revenue to sustain itself and also contribute to the aid of minor activities and intramural athletics. Obviously, the capacity of the majority of university field houses and gymnasiums prohibits the fullest exploitation of the sport. The number of seats available for the general public is usually contingent upon the balance remaining after the student body has been accommodated. Crowds of from ten to fifteen thousand are not unusual, however, at the larger university games. Indicative of the importance of basketball as commercial entertainment is the observation of the theatre trade magazine, *Variety*[1] in analyzing the competition of this sport with more established amusement attractions:

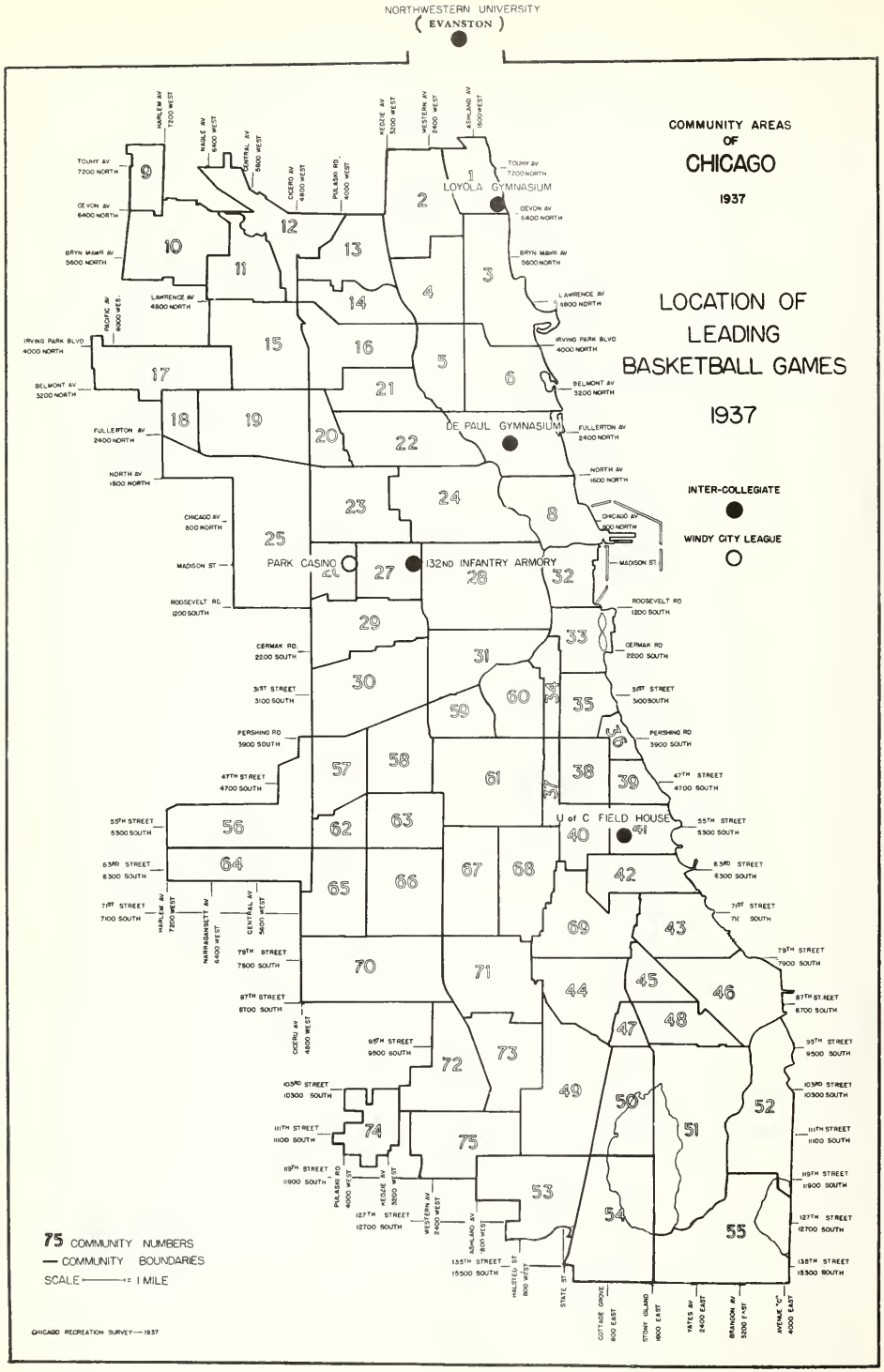
"When James A. (Pop) Naismith set up a couple of hoops and outlined a rough sport at Springfield College, Massachusetts, forty-seven years ago, he never conceived the havoc that basketball might wreak on the show business. Today, the game, started as a hobby, numbers several millions of players and has reached a point where it has become a factor in relation to the picture theatre box-offices."

In 1935 an experiment in the commercial promotion of collegiate basketball proved an overwhelming success. More than one hundred thousand spectators were drawn to Madison Square Garden to attend double headers of college basketball, bringing together outstanding teams of the New York district as well as leading representatives of other sections of the country. Individual crowds of more than seventeen thousand spectators attended some of these double features.

The outstanding amateur teams of the country are brought together annually in the National

[1]January 19, 1938.


COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
DISTRIBUTION OF
PROFESSIONAL
AND
SEMI-PROFESSIONAL
BASEBALL
-1937-
SPENCER COALS
WRIGLEY FIELD
CHAMPAGNE VELVET
MILLS STADIUM
COMISKEY PARK
AMERICAN GIANTS
SHEWBRIDGE FIELD
75 COMMUNITY NUMBERS
— COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES
SCALE ⟵⟶ = 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY — 1937


NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
(EVANSTON)
COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
LOCATION OF
LEADING
BASKETBALL GAMES
1937
INTER-COLLEGIATE
WINDY CITY LEAGUE
LOYOLA GYMNASIUM
DE PAUL GYMNASIUM
PARK CASINO
132ND INFANTRY ARMORY
U of C FIELD HOUSE
HARLEM AV 7200 WEST
NAGLE AV 6400 WEST
CENTRAL AV 5800 WEST
CICERO AV 4800 WEST
PULASKI RD 4000 WEST
KEDZIE AV 3200 WEST
WESTERN AV 2400 WEST
ASHLAND AV 800 WEST
TOUHY AV 7200 NORTH
DEVON AV 6400 NORTH
BRYN MAWR AV 5600 NORTH
LAWRENCE AV 4800 NORTH
PACIFIC AV 4000 WEST
IRVING PARK BLVD 4000 NORTH
BELMONT AV 3200 NORTH
FULLERTON AV 2400 NORTH
NORTH AV 1600 NORTH
CHICAGO AV 800 NORTH
MADISON ST
ROOSEVELT RD 1200 SOUTH
CERMAK RD 2200 SOUTH
31ST STREET 3100 SOUTH
PERSHING RD 3900 SOUTH
47TH STREET 4700 SOUTH
55TH STREET 5300 SOUTH
63RD STREET 6300 SOUTH
71ST STREET 7100 SOUTH
79TH STREET 7900 SOUTH
87TH STREET 8700 SOUTH
95TH STREET 9500 SOUTH
103RD STREET 10300 SOUTH
111TH STREET 11100 SOUTH
119TH STREET 11900 SOUTH
127TH STREET 12700 SOUTH
135TH STREET 13500 SOUTH
HALSTED ST 800 WEST
STATE ST
COTTAGE GROVE 800 EAST
STONY ISLAND 1800 EAST
YATES AV 2400 EAST
BRANDON AV 3200 EAST
AVENUE "O" 4000 EAST
75 COMMUNITY NUMBERS
— COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES
SCALE ——— = 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY — 1937

Amateur Athletic Union tournament. Many of the outstanding teams which participate in this tournament compete during the year in an intercity league. These teams are composed of outstanding college players and usually represent commercial and industrial interests. While the leagues are sanctioned by the Amateur Athletic Union, and therefore the players must comply with all of the amateur rules and regulations, considerable doubt has been expressed as to whether "love of the game" is the primary motive for such teams.

Professional basketball flourishes in varying degrees in New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia and Detroit. The New York Celtics are generally regarded as the world's outstanding professional basketball team, having won the championship of the American Professional Basketball League more often than any other team. This league reached its peak more than eight years ago. In recent years the teams which have enjoyed the most outstanding financial success have been those which have barnstormed the country competing with local teams. Usually the freak element has assisted the box-office; for example, such teams as the "House of David," the "Harlem Hottentots," and the "Roller Bearing Flashes," who compete on roller skates, play on occasion to packed houses. In recognizing the competition of basketball as an attraction, motion picture theaters have staged the experiment of short basketball games between amateur teams as an additional "feature." The colored team of Jesse Owens, the Olympic champion, has travelled extensively on such a basis. However, it should be pointed out that basketball today is still essentially an amateur sport, and that the commercial aspects of the game are concerned primarily with the provision of large arenas accommodating tremendous crowds. Professional basketball has not as yet attained a high or assured position in commercial recreation either as a means of employment for outstanding athletes or, through its drawing power, as a financial enterprise.

Four major universities in the Chicago area, Northwestern, Chicago, Loyola and DePaul, are represented by basketball teams comparable to the best in the country. Northwestern and Chicago are members of the Western Intercollegiate Conference and play regular schedules in that league. DePaul and Loyola are not affiliated with any intercollegiate athletic body but schedule games independently with many of the outstanding colleges and universities in the Middle West. Northwestern has consistently finished high in its Conference during the past decade and has several championships; Loyola has produced some remarkable records, at one time being undefeated in more than thirty games; and DePaul achieved the final Olympic tryouts in 1935. Although Chicago has not faired so well recently, on several occasions it has provided startling upsets against non-conference opponents. While the attendance fluctuates according to the success of the local team and the drawing power of its opponents, intercollegiate basketball is well patronized in Chicago. Northwestern-Notre Dame games on New Year's Eve and Purdue-Loyola and Loyola-DePaul games play to overflow crowds. The seating capacity of Patten Gymnasium, in Evanston, where Northwestern home games are played, provides accommodations for less than 6,000; of this number less than half are available to the general public and to the followers of the visiting teams. Admission charges to pre-conference games are usually seventy-five cents; league contests cost one dollar. Season tickets also are sold. The Loyola home games are played at the Alumni Gymnasium, 6534 Sheridan Road, on the north side. Two thousand of the thirty-four hundred seats are usually taken by the student body, and the remainder are open to the general public at an admission charge of sixty to seventy-five cents, varying with the visiting teams. DePaul University plays the majority of its games at the DePaul Gymnasium, located at Webster and Sheffield Avenues on the north side. However, on account of the limited capacity of the gymnasium, which seats less than 1,400 and accommodates only 500 in addition to the number of students who usually attend, many of the DePaul games are played at the 132d Infantry Armory at 2653 West Madison Street. The usual admission fee for the DePaul games is fifty-five cents. Some of the more outstanding attractions are slightly higher. Basketball games at the University of Chicago are played in its large new fieldhouse situated at 100 East Fifty-

sixth Street. Of the 3,300 seats approximately one-fourth are occupied by students. Admission rates range from seventy-five cents to one dollar. It will be observed from the foregoing that college basketball in Chicago makes no appreciable provision for the general public.

League competition in interscholastic basketball provides limited opportunities for the spectator. Each of the public high schools of the city plays a complete schedule in the Chicago Public High School Athletic League, and the Catholic high schools compete in their parochial league. Incidentally, many of the latter games are scheduled on Sunday afternoons. Many of the Protestant churches compete in the various church leagues throughout the city; these games are scheduled in individual church gymnasiums and park field houses, and also in the Y.M.C.A.'s and other similar agencies throughout the city. Competition in basketball is provided in the various Catholic parishes through the Catholic Youth Organization. Operating in much the same manner as the church leagues are many community leagues.

In addition to these are many commercial and industrial leagues, some of which are composed of employees of the companies they represent. However, during the past few years in recognition of the advertising value derived from successful athletic teams, the practice of sponsoring teams composed of members not employed by the commercial institutions has become quite common. Retail liquor establishments, and politicians in particular have adopted this means of advertising. In most instances the sponsor provides the uniforms and other equipment. Occasionally more substantial inducements are offered. These teams are not eligible for competition in orthodox industrial leagues. It is not to be assumed that there are admission charges to all games of the above amateur teams. The majority are open to the public without charge. The practice of "passing the hat" for volunteer donations is frequent.

The basketball season in Chicago culminates in the *Chicago Evening American* city championship tournament, which ends early in March. This meet is regarded as the largest independent basketball tournament in the country. In 1936, 326 teams competed in six classifications, including two for women. No attendance records were kept for the preliminary rounds. However, more than 15,600 spectators were attracted to the final rounds. From the quarter finals to the finals, the games are conducted at the Park Casino (3825 West Madison Street) with an admission fee of forty cents. The preliminary rounds are distributed throughout the city in various gymnasiums selected by the competing teams.

At the present time there are no teams in the city of Chicago which are regarded as being completely professional. From 1924 to 1929, however, Chicago was represented in the American Professional Basketball League by the Chicago Bruins. During that period attempts were made to promote big league basketball at the Broadway Armory, and later at several smaller arenas in the city. However, the patronage was insufficient to encourage continuation of the teams, and it is estimated that the promoters lost more than fifty thousand dollars during the six-year period in which Chicago was a member of the professional basketball league. During recent years attempts have been made from time to time in the Chicago area to organize teams composed of outstanding collegiate players. Whether these teams are amateur, semi-professional or professional is difficult to determine inasmuch as they have, during their existence, competed against teams in all three classifications. The Windy City Basketball League is generally regarded as providing the best example of its type in the city of Chicago. Its games are played at the Park Casino, and a typical evening's schedule provides two league games supplemented by a game between two girl teams. The admission price varies from 55 cents to 85 cents, and the attendance ranges from 1,000 to 2,000. With the recent renewed interest in basketball, it is expected that Chicago will again be represented in professional league basketball before many years have elapsed.

Football

In the less than fifty years of intercollegiate football the sport has developed from an informal prairie game played at several eastern schools with a handful of spectators, into a tremendous business which in 1937 attracted more than fifty million spectators who paid over seventy-five million dollars for tickets and one hundred and

fifty million dollars for traveling, transportation, hotels, and other expenses. The development of intercollegiate football with its massive stadia and tremendous gate receipts represents the highest application of the commercialization of amateur sport. Commenting upon this, Steiner in *Americans at Play*[1] indicates:

"College football is played by men who maintain their amateur standing, but the huge investments in grand-stands and stadia, the efforts made to attract large crowds, the high prices charged for admission, and the large profits in many instances at the end of the playing season, make it clearly evident that the game is dominated by the commercial spirit even though not promoted by commercial interests." That college football is definitely established as "big business" is further substantiated by the fact that fluctuations in the intercollegiate football attendance over a period of years closely followed the ups and downs on business charts during the same period.

Gate receipts from intercollegiate football frequently not only finance the sport itself, but also provide a source of revenue for the sustaining of other intercollegiate activities, intramural athletics, and in some instances the erection of academic buildings as well as stadia and large field houses. In a recent analysis of the financial aspects of the game it was revealed that annual gate receipts vary from $5,000 at a college of less than five hundred undergraduates to $1,100,000 at a large university prominent in the game.

The interest in intercollegiate football cannot be determined fully upon the basis of attendance alone. Each autumn Saturday afternoon games are broadcast from every state in the United States, with the more important contests carried on national hook-ups. It has been estimated that more than thirty million people witness college football games each week via radio. That football is popular with the general public is proved by the fact that wherever universities are agreeable, college football broadcasts are sponsored commercially and yield to the co-operating universities additional revenue.

Each year more than seven hundred games are played by universities and recognized colleges. In 1936 Associated Press and United Press statistics indicate that 397 of the more outstanding contests attracted 7,613,768 sports fans. In 1937, with six games less in the computations, the attendance had increased to more than eight million. This figure was gratifying to the universities; nevertheless, according to leading collegiate officials it indicated improvement in business conditions rather than increased interest in football. In general it may be said that attendance at intercollegiate football contests is concentrated at the games played by the larger universities located in or accessible to metropolitan areas throughout the country. The establishment of intercollegiate associations and conferences providing regular league schedules has done much to increase sectional interest in the sport, as it provides a means of rating various teams. That the calibre of play is an important factor in determining the patronage can readily be observed in attendance figures. Within recent years, for example, Minnesota, with consistently outstanding teams, has filled the stadia wherever it has played.

Because a team's drawing power at the gate is so definitely related to its ranking in its respective league or over the country, enthusiastic alumni in their efforts to bolster up the team of their alma mater have occasionally resorted to practices which have in many instances subjected college football to considerable criticism. Particularly has this been true at colleges where large stadia have been financed solely through anticipated football receipts, and inducements have been offered to outstanding interscholastic athletes. For this reason the term "professional amateur" has often been applied to intercollegiate football players.

While intercollegiate football still dominates the sport, it is a matter of common observation that during the past decade professional football has gained tremendous followings. In 1937 sports writers of the Associated Press in their annual poll voted the growth in popularity of professional football as the most outstanding sports development of the year. The history of professional football goes back to the last decade of the nineteenth century, when records reveal the existence of several teams of this type in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Professional football received a great stimulus during the World War, when the game was played in army camps by teams composed of college players and coaches who were in the ser-

[1]Ch. VI, p. 104.

vice. In 1920 the first major organization of professional football teams was formed with more than twenty clubs, and during 1921 the National Football League was organized with fourteen member teams. The first years of organized professional football were characterized in many communities by rowdyism, poor officiating and inadequate facilities both for the teams and for patrons. Many teams were composed of players whose chief asset was physical strength and endurance and who had no previous training nor experience in football.

Professional football gradually established itself as the new league eliminated undesirable features and as players with intercollegiate reputations entered the game. The latter fact created an antagonistic attitude on the part of college coaches toward the professional game. This animosity reached its peak following the capitulation of Red Grange to the inducements offered him after his last collegiate game. It is estimated that Grange and his promoter associates earned more than $350,000 within six months after his entrance into professional football. With the biggest name in football as an attraction, crowds of more than fifty thousand were attracted for the first time to professional games. Since that time the professional football league has established a definite working relationship with universities and colleges whereby no college football player is permitted to play in the professional league until his class graduates. The tremendous growth in the popularity of the game is evidenced by the fact that in 1937 fifty-five National League football games were witnessed by 1,176,476 sports fans. This compared very favorably with the average attendance at the 391 college football games with a total attendance of eight million. Many professional football games are broadcast today, and in some instances so great is the local interest that even out-of-town games are broadcast by radio stations. These broadcasts are usually financed by commercial sponsors.

Since 1892, when A. A. Stagg came from Yale to coach the University of Chicago team, college football has occupied a prominent place in the fall sports calendar of the Chicago district. Three universities within the state are members of the Western Intercollegiate Conference, or Big Ten as it is more generally known: Northwestern University, the University of Chicago, and the University of Illinois. Of these the University of Chicago's home games are the most accessible to Chicagoans, inasmuch as they are played at Stagg Field on the south side of the city. Dyche Stadium, Northwestern's home field, located in Evanston, is easily reached by elevated, Northwestern Railroad, Chicago and North Shore interurban and by numerous automobile routes. While the University of Illinois is situated approximately 130 miles from the city, Illinois Central Railroad trains and state highways permit thousands of Chicago football fans to attend its games. In addition, major collegiate football as represented by the renowned Notre Dame team attracts many Chicagoans, when games are played at Notre Dame Stadium outside of South Bend, Indiana, reached by the Chicago and South Shore interurban and the Michigan Central Railroad, and especially when Notre Dame battles with some other headliner college team at Chicago's own Soldier Field.

DePaul University, which is frequently matched with Western Conference teams, plays a good part of its schedule out of the city. Its home games, however, are divided between Wrigley Field on the north side and Mills Stadium, situated in the western section of the city.

College football in the Chicago district, as in most metropolitan areas, is patronized by four major groups: (1) the student body of the local team; (2) alumni and friends of the college; (3) students and alumni of the visiting team; (4) football fans at large. While student enthusiasm varies somewhat according to the rating of the team, in general the number of undergraduates who attend by virtue of student books remains fairly constant. The number of alumni who purchase season tickets depends to some extent upon the success of the team in the previous season and the calibre of the opposition. The following of the visiting team is dependent upon various factors: the distance, the ranking of the team, traditional rivalry, and general economic conditions. The general public attendance is composed of those who enjoy watching the game, and consequently attend college games when the opportunity presents itself. Very often these followers of the game be-

come more or less permanently attached to one team, and through this process become "synthetic alumni" with amazing enthusiasm for their choice. However, it is generally the patronage of this latter group which shifts from team to team as new champions arise. During the past decade with the exception of a few years, as Northwestern has produced consistently good teams and the University of Chicago as a result of a de-emphasizing program has had only mediocre seasons, the local patronage along with the major portion of newspaper publicity and radio broadcasting has shifted to the Evanston school. Prior to this, Chicago predominated in the local field and derived by far the greater patronage in the Chicago district. Notre Dame has for a good many years attracted among the largest crowds in the whole country. However, in several seasons following the death of the great coach, Knute Rockne, when the team lost somewhat its legend of success, the attendance showed a marked decline. The University of Illinois, partly because of its distance from the big centers of population and partly because its teams have not enjoyed their former success, has only occasionally filled its stadium since the spectacular years of Red Grange whose fame was so largely responsible for the construction of the huge memorial stadium.

The rates of admission to college football games vary considerably, depending upon the drawing power of the local team, as well as the prestige of the opposition. Usually, for example, major Big Ten teams have an admission charge of $2.75, but in some instances $3.30 is charged for an outstanding game for which a heavy demand for tickets is anticipated. For non-conference early season opponents, $2.20 is a typical admission charge. Not infrequently the rates of admission for college football in Chicago are as low as $1.00, and on occasion high-school students are admitted to certain sections of the stands at Northwestern for as low as forty cents.

During 1936 Northwestern home attendance for the season was 138,507 with total receipts of $222,372.09 as compared with the all-time high of 256,514 admissions in 1931 and the all-time high in the record of receipts of $333,371.32 in 1930. However, the 1936 figures were the highest since 1931 and represented the improved business conditions also observed at many other colleges throughout the country. The 1937 attendance, not available at the time this study was made, was expected to represent a sharp increase above the 1936 figure. While no attendance figures were released at the University of Chicago, it was stated by athletic officials at this institution that Chicago had no considerable attendance at its football games when compared to the leading conference teams. During 1937 less than ten thousand witnessed the home games of DePaul. College football was also provided during the season of 1937 at Soldier Field, and a total attendance of more than 100,000 was recorded. The sponsorship for charitable purposes contributes appreciably to the promotion of these contests. The seating capacities of the various college stadia in the Chicago district are as follows: Dyche Stadium, erected at a cost of $1,200,000—48,500; Stagg Field, University of Chicago, estimated cost $1,103,671—58,000; Loyola Stadium, 6,500. Soldier Field, publicly owned and erected at a total expenditure of more than $8,000,000, has accommodations for more than 100,000 spectators. Wrigley Field, the home of the Chicago Cubs Baseball Team, accommodates approximately 40,000.

Supplementing the various collegiate games in Chicago are complete schedules of interscholastic games in the city high-school league and in the Roman Catholic parochial league. In both leagues sectional championships are decided, followed by the title games for their individual city championships. During the past few years, capitalizing upon the partisanship among the followers of the parochial and public school varieties of interscholastic football, the champions of these two leagues have been brought together early in December to decide the city championship. The primary purpose of the game is to derive funds for the Christmas benefit fund established by the Mayor, and as a result the sale of tickets through various means has been extremely active. In 1937 more than 120,000, an overflow crowd, witnessed the annual clash. Other benefit games played during the season by the various parochial teams have attracted crowds of more than 25,000.

Records indicate that the first football games in Chicago regarded as professional were played by the Racine Cardinals of 1899. This team has sur-

vived throughout a varied career, and exists today as the Chicago Cardinals, one of the two Chicago members in the National Professional League; the other is the Chicago Bears. A great impetus was given to support of non-collegiate football during the World War, as a result of the organization of one of the outstanding service teams at Great Lakes. Many of the members of the Great Lakes team developed after the war into the country's outstanding coaches.

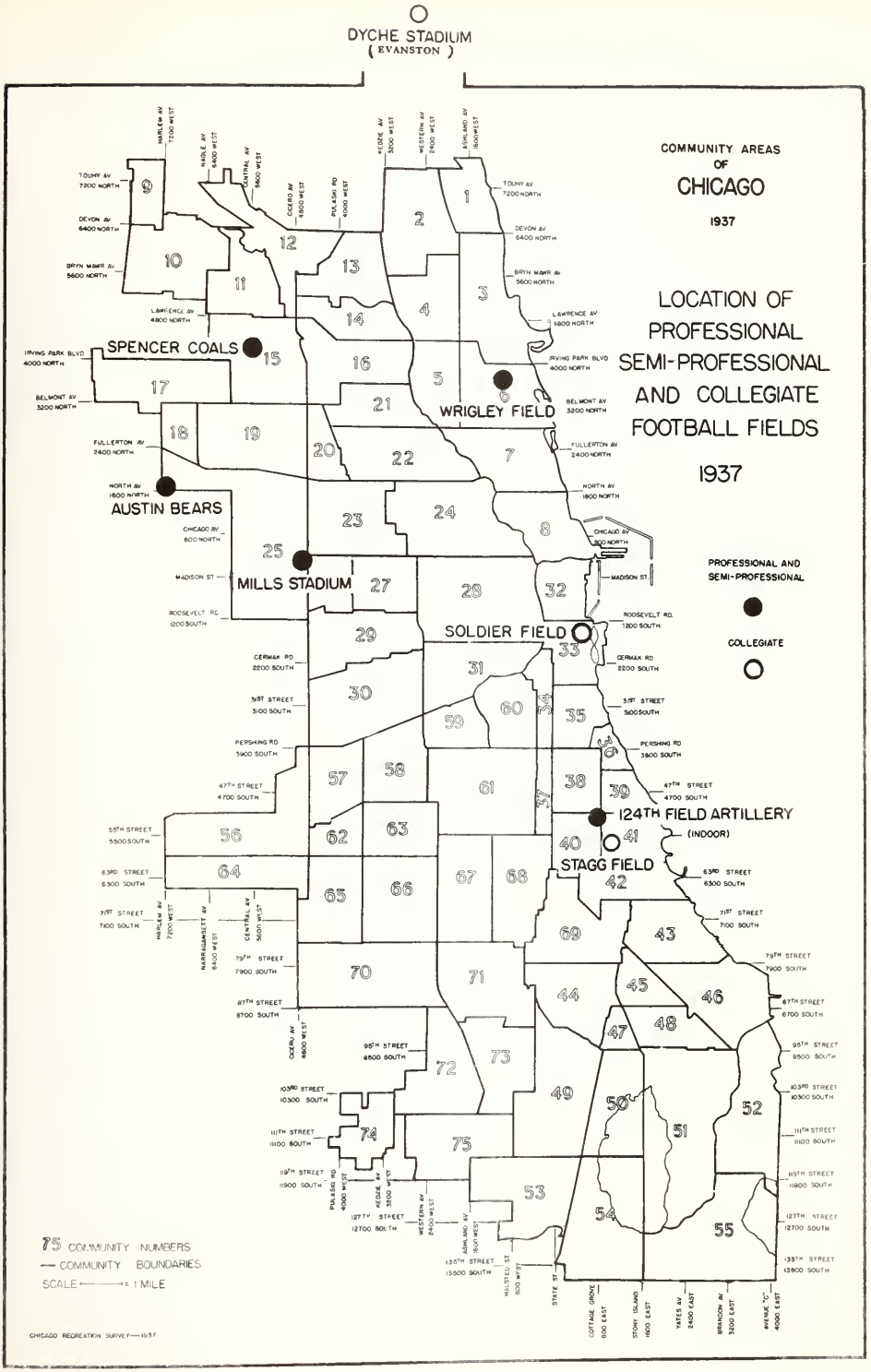
The Chicago Bears were originally known as the Staleys of Decatur. Among the opponents of the Chicago teams during the first years of the National Professional Football League were such teams as Rock Island, Pottsville from the mining country of Pennsylvania, the Green Bay Packers, (financed by the business men of that city), and Portsmouth, Ohio, featuring the great Indian athlete, Jim Thorpe. By 1923 the Bears had become established in Chicago, and with the acquisition of Red Grange in 1924 they became one of the foremost teams in professional football, a rank which has not been relinquished since that time. The Chicago Bears have won the league championship on three occasions, namely, in 1921, 1929 and 1933. In several other years, 1934 and 1937, they were section champions, although they did not win the final championship game. During 1937 the home attendance of the Chicago Bears at Wrigley Field was 155,000, or more than a 30 per cent jump from the previous year. An overflow crowd of 44,974 spectators watched the Green Bay Packer game, with more than 10,000 spectators turned away. The Chicago Cardinals' home attendance, with only four games, was 53,000, despite the unfavorable conditions which affected attendance on several occasions.

According to those associated with the game, professional football in Chicago is building up its patronage on the basis of providing a type of game featuring action, free scoring and wide-open play. While naturally the same type of loyalty to a team could not be expected on the part of followers of a professional team as is frequently observed in college, it is significant that special trains are often required to bring the Green Bay Packer fans to Chicago, and during the past season several chartered trains were required to take the followers of the Washington Redskin team to New York and to Chicago. The games of both the Cardinals and the Bears are broadcast by commercial sponsors. The away-from-home games of the Bears are broadcast frequently by means of ticker-tape reports received at the studios. The admission rates at Wrigley Field, where both teams play their home games are 55 cents, $1.10, $1.65 and $2.20, including the federal amusement tax.

An annual all-star football game inaugurated in 1934 under the auspices of the *Chicago Daily Tribune* and 150 affiliated newspapers in forty states has attracted nation-wide interest. This game between university football stars and the national professional champions of the preceding season is played during the latter part of August or early part of September on Soldier Field in Chicago. The coaches and the players on the all-star team are selected by a poll sponsored by these newspapers. The average annual attendance is approximately 80,000 persons. Tickets are sold for $3.30, $2.20 and $1.10.

All who are associated with the game except *Tribune* employees are compensated. The head coach receives $1,000 and each of his two assistants $500. Each college player receives $150, in addition to transportation and expenses. The college squads are permitted to retain their uniforms, blankets and sweaters as souvenirs of the game. The professional team receives a share of the net proceeds on a graduated scale. After all expenses have been paid, the *Chicago Tribune* Charities, Incorporated, divides the remainder among the United Charities, the Catholic Charities and the Jewish Charities of Chicago. These three charitable organizations have benefited to the extent of $108,616.46 from the proceeds of the four games.

In addition to the games provided by the various collegiate, interscholastic and professional teams, football fans of the city are offered opportunities to witness the games of the many sand lot independent teams and organized leagues throughout the city. Independent football does not enjoy the same popularity in the city as baseball and basketball can claim. This is due primarily to such facts as that the game requires a great amount of practice time which is difficult to secure in the fall especially after the termination of daylight saving; the cost of uniforms and equipment; possibility of injury; need of skillful coaching.


DYCHE STADIUM
(EVANSTON)
COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
LOCATION OF
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SEMI-PROFESSIONAL
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FOOTBALL FIELDS
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SPENCER COALS
WRIGLEY FIELD
AUSTIN BEARS
MILLS STADIUM
SOLDIER FIELD
124TH FIELD ARTILLERY
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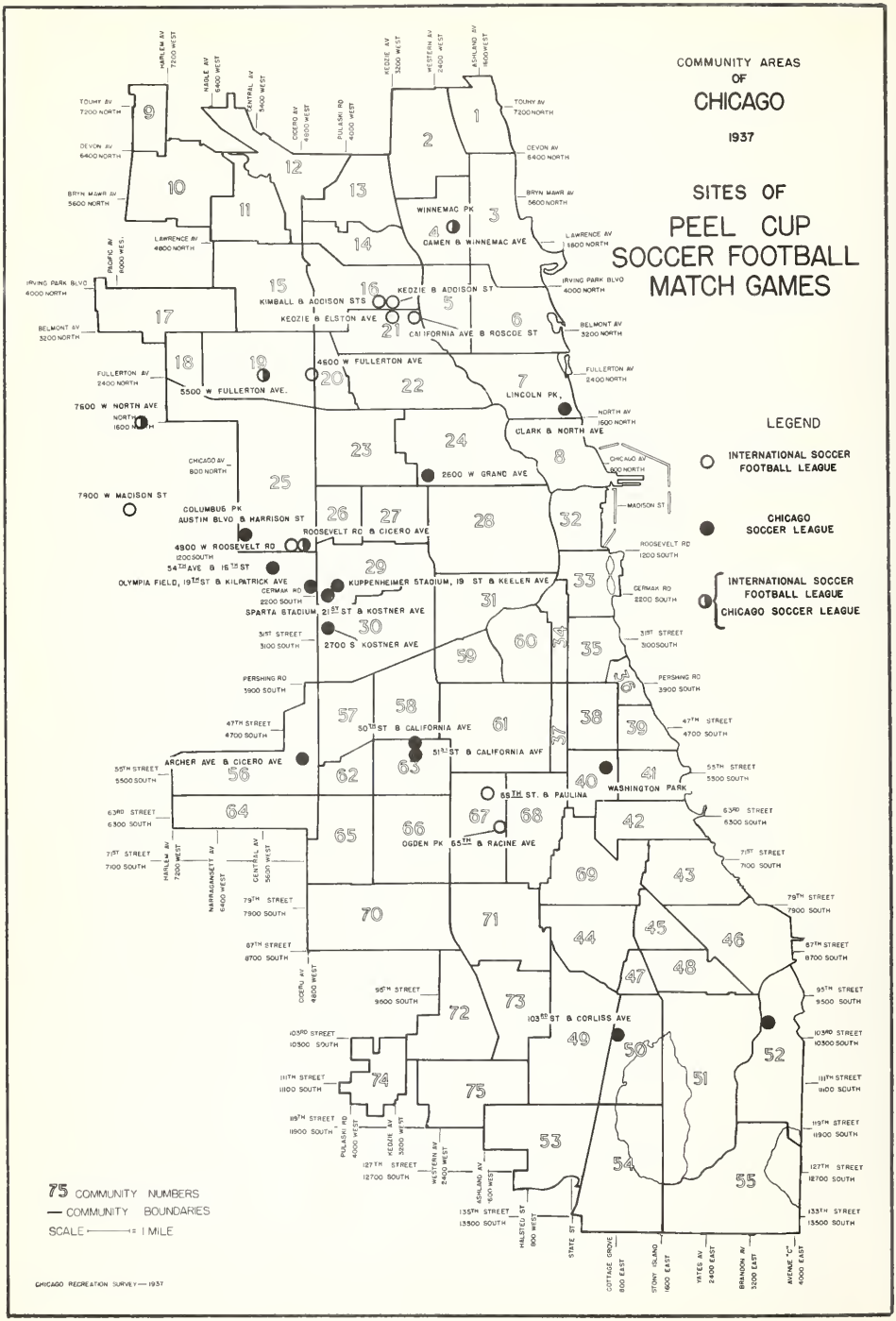
SCALE ←——→ = 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY—1937


COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
SITES OF
PEEL CUP
SOCCER FOOTBALL
MATCH GAMES
LEGEND
INTERNATIONAL SOCCER FOOTBALL LEAGUE
CHICAGO SOCCER LEAGUE
INTERNATIONAL SOCCER FOOTBALL LEAGUE
CHICAGO SOCCER LEAGUE
WINNEMAC PK
CAMEN & WINNEMAC AVE
KIMBALL & ADDISON STS
KEDZIE & ADDISON ST
KEDZIE & ELSTON AVE
CALIFORNIA AVE & ROSCOE ST
4500 W FULLERTON AVE
5500 W FULLERTON AVE.
LINCOLN PK.
7600 W NORTH AVE
CLARK & NORTH AVE
2600 W GRAND AVE
7900 W MADISON ST
COLUMBUS PK
AUSTIN BLVD & HARRISON ST
ROOSEVELT RD & CICERO AVE
4800 W ROOSEVELT RD
54TH AVE & 15TH ST
OLYMPIA FIELD, 19TH ST & KILPATRICK AVE
KUPPENHEIMER STADIUM, 19 ST & KEELER AVE
SPARTA STADIUM, 21ST ST & KOSTNER AVE
2700 S KOSTNER AVE
50TH ST & CALIFORNIA AVE
51ST ST & CALIFORNIA AVE
ARCHER AVE & CICERO AVE
68TH ST. & PAULINA
WASHINGTON PARK
OGDEN PK
65TH & RACINE AVE
103RD ST & CORLISS AVE
75 COMMUNITY NUMBERS
— COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES
SCALE 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY — 1937

Not the least important element in the situation is the fact that football is not accepted by youth to the same degree as baseball. However, in spite of these drawbacks, many minor athletic clubs throughout the city each year are represented by teams playing on park athletic fields, vacant lots, and in some instances on commercial athletic fields.

The teams recognized as the best of this type in the city usually include former college and high-school athletes; it is the exception when a player achieves first recognition in the game with these teams. In several instances teams in this general classification have competed against leading professional elevens; thus it is difficult to state with any degree of certainty whether these teams are amateur, professional or semi-professional. However, it should be pointed out that gate receipts are not sufficient to cover more than operating expenses. The admission rates vary from twenty-five cents to fifty-five cents. The Austin Bears, whose games are played at Mills Stadium, 4000 West Lake Street, and also at 7200 West North Avenue, the Brandt Florals, who usually travel, and the Chicago Gunners, whose home games are played on the indoor field at the 124th Field Artillery Armory, represent the leading teams in this group.

With increased interest in football, professional gambling syndicates have found a new source of revenue in the "football pools." The extent to which this type of wagering was deriving support has caused colleges to act against the bookmakers, and the Western Intercollegiate Conference schools are educating student bodies as to the futility of this type of betting. In at least one university very vigorous action has been taken to stamp out the nuisance. However, "football pools" have become quite firmly established in the Loop district of the city.

Soccer Football

Soccer football is the national game in more countries than any other sport; in 1937, 52 nations played this variety of football. In the United States because of the competition provided by American football, soccer has not enjoyed the same popularity. However, the game has been played in this country in one form or another for more than a century, and has attained such a following that the United States has had a representative team in the Olympic games for more than two decades. In contrast to the crowds of from 100,000 to 150,000 which witness the games during the season in London and various cities in South America, soccer football does not draw large crowds in Chicago. According to those closely associated with soccer, there appears to be a gradual increase in interest in the sport both in participants and also spectators. The fact that size is not as essential as in the American type of football or in rugby makes it possible for a small man to excel in soccer football. For many years the game was promoted in the various high schools of the city, but was discontinued as football became more popular and the shortage of available playing space did not permit much activity in both sports. However, according to recent information, steps are under way to revive this interscholastic competition. During 1936, 1,200 individual players were affiliated with 61 soccer clubs in and adjacent to the city of Chicago. Competition for the Cermak, Kelly and Peel trophies began early in September and culminated with the championship rounds from the latter part of November into February. Games were played each Sunday afternoon at approximately twenty locations in the city with crowds varying in size from a few hundred to several thousand. In many instances no admission fee was charged and at several locations nominal rates prevailed. Among the better known teams of the city are: Sparta A.B.A., Maccabee A.C., Schwaben Club, Swedish-American A.A., Oak Park Acorns, Viking A.A., and Slovak A.A.

Soccer is unique as a game in Chicago in several respects. Professionals and amateurs compete on the same teams, a condition which is not permitted in other sports. However, all of those classed as professionals are employed in other professions and secure their major income from that source. The annual competition for the Peel Cup Trophy presented more than twenty-nine years ago by Peter J. Peel, now a member of the Chicago Recreation Commission, is one of the outstanding events of the year. At the same time through the admission fees of its patrons it provides medical attention and hospital care for injured soccer players. On the basis of limited information this is the only enterprise of its type in the Chicago area at least.

CHAPTER VII

BOXING AND WRESTLING

While wrestling in one form or another is encountered even in biblical history, and boxing likewise has been conducted as a sport throughout many centuries, it is only in comparatively recent times that boxing and wrestling as we know them today have become established as legitimate amusement enterprises attracting millions of spectators annually. Commenting upon the growth of boxing in the United States, Steiner points out that it was not until the turn of the nineteenth century that progress was made in overcoming the opposition to this sport due to the "unsavory reputation of prize fighting because of its long history of brutality and the low type of men participating in it."[1] Prior to this time, while boxing held a sustained interest among certain elements of the population, it was necessary for even championship bouts to be held in out-of-the-way places where the possibility of police interference was minimized. To the World War with boxing as a feature of training camps is attributed much of the growth in favor of the sport and the subsequent exploitation of its commercial aspects. During the ten years between 1920 and 1930 it grew in public favor, and with that development there came million-dollar gates before record-breaking crowds. Today boxing is legalized in more than thirty states, in the majority of which it is placed under the control of state commissions responsible usually also for the regulation of wrestling.

The major interest in the sport centers around the heavyweight championship, and crowds of from 60,000 to 100,000 are not uncommon for leading fights in this class. Indeed, more than $2,600,000 was paid by a crowd of 120,000 spectators to witness the Dempsey-Tunney fight in Chicago in 1927. During the ten-year period ending 1930 ten boxing matches attracted gross receipts of more than $1,000,000, an increase of 400 per cent over the amount taken in at leading bouts during the previous decade. Since 1929 boxing attendance has been affected by unfavorable economic conditions; even so, the Louis-Baer bout in 1935 attracted a crowd of 88,000 people with a gate of $948,352. In 1937 the Braddock-Louis fight in Chicago drew a crowd of 41,000 with receipts totalling $715,000.

Boxing is essentially "big business" and as such is subject to various promotional activities. The provision of large stadia, indoor as well as outdoor, has increased the importance of qualified matchmakers and others required to promote attractions capable of drawing large crowds. Because championship contests and the more important matches between leading contenders generally are the most profitable enterprises, it has become common practice for promoters to insist upon contractual rights for succeeding bouts before arranging initial matches among leading boxers. At the present time most of the leading heavyweights, for example, are under contract to the country's outstanding promoter. Comment has been rife regarding this situation. Some authorities hold that such a condition tends to stifle competition in that through this arrangement a good boxer could easily be prevented from rising to the contender group unless he is willing to submit to the financial inducements offered and contractual obligations imposed by the promoter. Because the public tends to patronize bouts involving the "slugger" type of combatant more than matches between boxers stressing the scientific aspects of the sport, the drawing power of this latter group is frequently much smaller than for less capable performers in the first classification. Boxing is a business with the profit motive foremost; hence it is only logical for the promoter to match those contestants he believes in the long run will provide the most income for him. It has been said that in the past few years more of the fighting between leading heavyweight boxers has been conducted in the courtroom than in the actual ring itself. This is due to lengthy litigation involving claims of vio-

[1] *Americans at Play*, ch. V.

lating contractual obligations, a spectacle which, to say the least, has done little to enhance the reputation of the sport.

Much recent activity in the field of boxing in the United States has taken the form of competition between amateurs. By reason of the promotional activities of leading newspapers and the inclusion of boxing on the sports programs of youth agencies designed to reduce juvenile delinquency in large cities, the number of boys taking up the sport has shown a tremendous increase in the past decade. Some of the largest crowds attending boxing events have witnessed the finals of these tournaments. That this interest has had an effect on the professional boxing game is attested by the fact that two of the world's champions have risen in comparatively short periods of time from the ranks of amateur boxing. Significantly, both are former champions of the Golden Gloves tournament conducted by the *Chicago Tribune*.

With the exception of boxing, wrestling is the most important of all the sports involving bodily combat. More than 7,000,000 paid admissions to wrestling bouts were recorded in 1937. (This is, however, only one-fourth of the patronage at boxing during the same year.) The total gate receipts during 1935 were approximately $6,000,000. Up until recently wrestling was regarded as one of the foremost scientific sports. For that very reason, however, during the years in which its scientific aspects predominated, the sport was limited in its popularity to a relatively small group who understood the various holds employed and consequently provided intelligent spectatorship. About 1927 the complexion of the sport underwent a drastic change. This has been attributed chiefly to the entrance of several outstanding college football players into professional wrestling. Exploitation of names rather than wrestlers began; several who had no previous wrestling experience, collegiate or otherwise, developed into outstanding contenders in less than a year. Relying primarily upon brute strength and employing such innovations as the flying tackle and the aeroplane spin, these new professionals became the foremost attractions. Recognizing the potentialities of such names and innovations, wrestling managers and promoters applied every variety of showmanship, and soon the scientific aspects of wrestling, particularly in the heavyweight classes, were pushed into the background.

Probably the most unique business feature of wrestling is the close relationship which exists between its promotional and managerial elements. During the past few years the control of the sport has been vested in a varying number of territorial "boss promoters," each of whom has his own group of wrestlers who usually compete against each other in a regular circuit of communities scheduled by the booking department of the organization. With the same wrestlers matched against each other two or three times every week, it must be admitted that to some extent at least wrestling has become primarily a theatrical attraction rather than a competitive sport. With each particular clique having its own individual champion, the country may have as many as five self-styled world's champions at one time. At no one time recently has one heavyweight been recognized as the national champion by all state boxing and wrestling commissions. The extreme to which theatrical devices have been employed is readily observed in the recent introduction in some states of matches conducted in wet clay, and in the staging of wrestling between women contestants as an added attraction. It is extremely doubtful whether wrestling will ever again be regarded as a scientific sport in its professional aspects, since to all appearances that type of athletic contest and the profit motive cannot be reconciled. While high schools and colleges as well as many private athletic clubs provide the more orthodox form of wrestling and sometimes attract tremendous crowds, particularly in some of the southwestern states where wrestling is a major collegiate sport, there is no indication that the college wrestler will exert significant influence in changing the trend in the professionalized sport.

It was not until 1925 that boxing became legal in the state of Illinois with the passage of an act relating to athletic exhibitions and creating the State Athletic Commission.

It was because of the prevailing unfavorable reaction to the sport in the state that the legislature, in legalizing boxing and in establishing the State Athletic Commission for its regulation and control, took every precaution to guard against a recurrence of those aspects of the game which had

led to previous public opposition and to the disbarment of the sport from the state. Because the city of Chicago exercises no special control over boxing and wrestling (due primarily to the fact that the State Athletic Commission functions so completely as a controlling agency), the legislation relating to boxing and wrestling in Illinois as compiled in a publication of the State Athletic Commission, is reproduced in part in the adjoining pages. These statutory provisions are generally regarded as an excellent example of governmental control of a branch of commercial recreation.[1]

The State Athletic Commission, in carrying out the duties and powers specifically assigned to it by the statutes, has established a code of regulations governing procedures and providing rules for the conduct of these sports in Illinois. Whether boxing and wrestling in the state are conducted in a creditable manner or fall into disrepute is contingent largely upon the complete co-operation of the various groups involved. Since its establishment the athletic commission has been eminently successful in encouraging public confidence in its administration. This is due primarily to the fact that under no governor has political expediency been the determining factor in the appointment of commissioners. Indeed, many of the state's outstanding sportsmen have been included in membership of the commission during its comparatively short life. To most of these men the relatively small salary, $4,500 per year, is of little consequence.

Boxing

Amateur

The outstanding boxing event (from the standpoint of attendance) in the history of legal boxing, not only in Illinois but throughout the entire world, was the second Dempsey-Tunney fight held at Soldier Field, in 1927. But Chicago has attracted many other matches between leading contestants during the past twelve years. Although, since 1930 professional boxing in Illinois, as in most other states, has suffered seriously from the depression, interest in boxing increased progressively during this period, chiefly because of the inauguration of the *Chicago Tribune* Golden Gloves fights in 1928. In each year the final Chicago city championships have been followed by an intercity meet with the champions of the New York Golden Gloves Tournament, and except in 1936, when the Olympic Trials were held, an international event has culminated the entire year's amateur activities. Based upon records of paid attendance a total of 701,682 spectators have witnessed the various boxing contests sponsored by the *Tribune* in the past ten years. In 1937 the attendance at the final local matches, the intercity tournament, and the international meet with an all-European team totalled 64,498 for the three events. Indeed, the attendance was limited only by the capacity of the Chicago Stadium.

In addition to providing the largest number of competitors in the Golden Gloves Tournament, the Catholic Youth Organization conducts its own championship meet each year with the finals at the Chicago Stadium, usually before a capacity crowd. Moreover, boxers of this organization compete against teams from other cities such as the Catholic Boys' Club of New York and an international team from Argentina. All of these events attract a considerable patronage, primarily because they provide good entertainment, but also to a somewhat lesser degree because the profits are devoted to various activities of the Catholic Youth Organization. In the past five years more than 5,500 boxers have competed in one age group or another in the novice and open divisions of these tournaments. The Catholic Youth Center, located on Congress Street at Wabash Avenue just south of the Loop, is the headquarters of this organization, and in its gymnasium more than 700 individuals trained and learned to box during 1937. Largely because of a much more limited membership, the various athletic clubs and Y.M.C.A.'s throughout the city are responsible to a smaller extent for the growth in amateur boxing in Chicago. Many of the boxers who won fame in the various tournaments conducted under the auspices of the *Tribune* and the Catholic Youth Organization have achieved success when they entered the professional ranks.

During 1937 there were 600 amateur boxing events in the State of Illinois, exclusive of the *Tribune* and Catholic Youth Organization matches. Of this total 379 were held within the

[1] *Illinois Revised Statutes*, (Cahill and Moore, 1935), ch. 10b, par. 1-34.

ILLINOIS LAW GOVERNING BOXING AND WRESTLING CONTESTS AND EXHIBITIONS

An ACT in relation to athletic exhibitions, creating a commission prescribing its powers and duties, providing penalties for violation of the provisions thereof and repealing sections of an Act therein named. Filed July 13, 1925 with amendments in force July 1, 1933.

Creation—Appointment—Compensation

Section 1. **Be it Enacted by the People of the State of Illinois, Represented in the General Assembly,** that there is hereby created an athletic commission to be known as the State athletic commission, consisting of three persons, to be appointed by the Governor. One of said persons shall be appointed for a period of one year from and after the second Monday in January, following his appointment, one for a period of two years from and after the second Monday in January, following his appointment, and one for a period of three years from and after the second Monday in January, following his appointment, and upon the expiration of the terms of such respective commissioners, the Governor shall appoint their successors, each to serve for a term of three years, and all to serve until their successors are appointed and qualified. The members of the commission shall each receive a salary of forty-five hundred dollars ($4,500.00) per annum.

Secretary—Appointment—Salary

Sec. 2. The commission may appoint, and at pleasure remove, a secretary to the commission, whose duty it shall be to keep a full and true record of all its proceedings, and keep the books and records in the general office of the commission, and to perform such other duties as the commission may prescribe. The salary of the secretary shall be thirty-five hundred dollars ($3,500.00) per year.

Employees

Sec. 3. The commission may employ such clerical employees and assistants as it may deem necessary for the proper transaction of its business, and shall fix their salaries within the amount appropriated therefor by the legislature. Each commissioner, the secretary, and the employees of the commission shall be reimbursed for all actual and necessary traveling expenses and disbursements incurred by them in the discharge of their official duties.

Office—Location

Sec. 4. The commission shall maintain offices for the transaction of its business in the city of Springfield, Illinois, and may maintain offices in any other city in the State of Illinois, that the commission may designate, and may incur the necessary expense for office furniture, stationery, printing, and other incidental expenses.

Organization of Commission

Sec. 5. The commission shall, within thirty days after its appointment, and on or before the first day of October of each year thereafter, organize by appointing one member as its chairman, and shall adopt a seal for the commission and shall make such rules and regulations for the administration of the commission not inconsistent herewith, as they may deem expedient, and may, from time to time, amend such rules and regulations.

Quorum

Sec. 6. Two members of said commission shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, and the concurrence of at least two commissioners shall be necessary to render a determination or decision by the commission.

Report to Governor

Sec. 7. On or before the thirty-first day of December, in each year, the commission shall make to the Governor a full report of its proceedings for the year ending the first day of December in each year, and may submit with such report such recommendations pertaining to its affairs as to it shall deem desirous.

When Matches or Exhibitions May Be Held—When License Not Required

Sec. 8. Boxing, sparring, and wrestling matches or exhibitions for prizes or purses, or where an admission fee is charged or received, may be held within the State of Illinois, except on Sunday, subject to the direction, management and control of the State athletic commission, which is hereby vested with the sole jurisdiction over all boxing, sparring, and wrestling matches and exhibitions to be conducted in this State, provided however, that any such boxing, sparring, or wrestling matches or exhibitions which are conducted by any school, college, or university within any building or upon any ground owned or occupied by said school, college or university, within the State of Illinois, shall not be subject to the provisions of this Act, requiring licenses, as herein provided, even though an admission fee is charged. However, the term "school, college, university" does not include a school or other institution for the principal purpose of furnishing instruction in boxing, wrestling or other athletics.

License Required

Sec. 9. No boxing, sparring, or wrestling match or exhibition, except as herein provided, shall be held or conducted within this State, except under a license and permit issued by the State athletic commission, in accordance with the provisions of this Act, and the rules and regulations adopted in pursuance hereof.

Annual License—Permit Penalty

Sec. 10. The commission may, in its discretion, issue, under the name and seal of the State athletic commission, an annual license in writing for holding such boxing, sparring, and wrestling matches or exhibitions, to any person, club, corporation, or association, who, or which in the discretion of the State athletic commission, is properly qualified for the holding of such exhibitions, and shall have the right to, and are hereby put under obligation of, adopting reasonable rules and regulations, to establish the qualifications of the applicants for such license, which rules and regulations shall be such as to carry out the spirit of this Act and shall not be inconsistent herewith.

In addition to the license herein required, every person, club, corporation, or association before conducting any particular boxing, sparring, or wrestling match or exhibition, where one or more contests are to be held, shall obtain a permit therefor from the State athletic commission, such permit so issued shall authorize the conducting of one such boxing, sparring, or wrestling match or exhibition, and any number of contests may be held hereat.

Any person, club, corporation, or association, or any officer of such club, corporation, or association conducting a boxing, sparring, or wrestling match or exhibition, without first obtaining such license and permit, as provided in this Act, shall be deemed guilty of misdemeanor, and shall be punished by a fine of not less than one thousand ($1,000.00) dollars, and not more than five thousand ($5,000.00) dollars, and, in addition thereto, in the discretion of the court, in the case of such an individual or officer, shall be sentenced not to exceed six months in the county jail.

Application for License

Sec. 11. Applications for a license or permit to conduct a boxing, sparring, or wrestling match or exhibition shall be made in writing upon forms prescribed by the State athletic commission, and shall be addressed to and filed with such commission, and shall be verified by the applicant, if an individual, or by some officer of the club, corporation, or association in whose behalf the application is made.

The application for a permit to conduct a boxing, sparring, or wrestling match or exhibition shall, among other things state the time and exact place at which the boxing, sparring, or wrestling match or exhibition is proposed to be held, the name of the contestants who will participate therein and their seconds, the seating capacity of the building or the hall in which such exhibition is proposed to be held, the admission charge or charges which it is proposed to make, the name of the referee who will act at such match or exhibition, and the amount of his fee or compensation, the amount of the compensation or percentage of gate receipts which it is proposed to pay to each of the participants therein, the name and address of the person, club, corporation, or association making the application, and the names and addresses of all the officers of such club, corporation or association.

Any person who is swearing to such application, makes, or causes to be made, therein, any statement which is knowingly and willfully false, shall be deemed guilty of perjury and punished accordingly.

Who Not Entitled to License

Sec. 12. No boxing, sparring, or wrestling match or exhibition shall be conducted by any person, club, corporation, or association, except by and in accordance with a license and permit issuing to such person, club, corporation, or association by the State athletic commission of the State of Illinois, and no club, corporation, or association shall be entitled to receive a license or permit from the State athletic commission unless it has been incorporated under the laws of the State of Illinois with a membership of not less than fifty persons, who have been continuous residents of the State of Illinois not less than one year prior to the application for such license or permit.

Rules and Regulations — Bond — License not Transferable

Sec. 13. The State athletic commission may, in its discretion, issue a license to conduct boxing, sparring, or wrestling matches or exhibitions to any person, club, corporation, or association, who, or which, complies with the provisions of this Act, and the rules and regulations of the commission and who or which comply with the following conditions: (a) who, or which, shall file with the State Treasurer a bond provided for in section 25 of this Act; (b) who, or which, prior to the application, obeyed every valid rule, regulation, or order of the State athletic commission, and shall not be guilty of violating any of the provisions of this Act; (c) which, in the case of a club, corporation, or association, does not have among its officers or members any person who belonged to a club, corporation, or association which has been guilty of a violation of this Act, or of any valid rule, regulation, or order of the State athletic commission; (d) which, in case of a club, corporation, or association, shall have officers, matchmakers, and other officials of the club, corporation, or association, all of whom must be bona fide residents of the State of Illinois, who having resided in the State of Illinois three years prior to the application of such license and permit under this Act.

The license when issued shall recite that the person, club, corporation, or association, to whom it is granted, has complied with the conditions of this section, and the license shall not be transferable.

Commission May Limit Issuance of Licenses

Sec. 14. The commission shall have full power and authority to limit the number of clubs or the sparring, boxing and wrestling matches and exhibitions to be held or given by any club, organization or corporation in any city in this State, wherein such boxing con-

tests are conducted in the manner herein provided. No boxing, sparring or wrestling matches or exhibitions shall be conducted by any club, organization or corporation having a license to conduct sparring, boxing or wrestling matches or exhibitions in this State except by a sanction or permit from the State athletic commission. Every license shall be subject to such rules and regulations and amendments thereof as the commission may prescribe.

No license or permit shall be issued to any person, club, corporation or association to conduct sparring, boxing or wrestling matches or exhibitions at any place other than in a city, village or incorporated town.

Law Governing Licensee—Penalty for Violation

Sec. 15. Any person, club, corporation or association to whom a license is issued, shall not:

(a) Hold such match or exhibition at any other time, or place, or

(b) Permit any other contestants or referee to participate therein, or

(c) Charge a greater rate or rates of admission; or

(d) Pay a greater fee, compensation or percentage to contestants or referee than was specified in the application made and filed prior to the issuance of such permit.

Provided, however, that in case of an emergency, the commission may, upon application, allow a person, club, corporation, or association to hold such boxing, sparring, or wrestling show or contests wherever it may deem fit, within the city in which such person, club, corporation, or association is located, and substitute contestants, seconds, or referee, as circumstances may require.

Any corporation or officer of any club, or association, violating the provision of this section, is guilty of misdemeanor and shall be punished by a fine of not less than two hundred dollars ($200.00) nor more than five hundred dollars ($500.00).

Refusal to Grant License—Hearing

Sec. 16. In case the State athletic commission refuses to grant a license to an applicant, the applicant, at his, or its option, shall be entitled to a hearing in the manner hereinafter provided; but, if the State athletic commission, prior to such refusal after a hearing, has found, by a valid finding, the applicant has been guilty of disobeying any rule, regulation or order of the State athletic commission, or has been guilty of violating any of the provisions of this Act, such applicant shall not again be heard, and in case any boxing, sparring, or wrestling match or exhibition has been conducted by any person, club, corporation, or association, under the provisions of this Act, the State athletic commission, on its own motion, or on the petition of any resident of the State of Illinois, may conduct a hearing to determine whether such person club, corporation, or association has disobeyed any rule, regulation, or order of the State athletic commission, or has been guilty of any violation of the provisions of this Act.

Notice of Hearing—Rules for Hearings before Commission

Sec. 17. Any hearing by the commission shall be held at any of its offices, which the commission may designate, after at least ten days' notice in writing, addressed to the person, club, corporation or association affected, at its address, as stated in the last application filed with the commission. Such notice shall be served by mailing the same, postage prepaid, by registered mail, to such person, club, corporation or association at such address.

The commission, in conducting such hearing, shall not be bound by technical rules of evidence, but all evidence offered before the commission shall be reduced to writing and shall with the petition and exhibits, if any, and the findings of the commission, be permanently preserved and shall constitute the record of the commission in such case.

Any person, club, corporation or association interested in such hearing, may be represented by counsel and shall have the right to introduce evidence. The Attorney-General, at the request of the commission, shall assist in the conduct of such hearing.

Every member of the State athletic commission shall have power to administer oaths and affirmations, certify to all official acts, issue subpoenas, compel the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of papers, books, accounts, and documents. Any person who shall be served with a subpoena to appear and testify, or to produce books, papers, accounts or documents, issued by the commission, or any member thereof, in the course of an inquiry or hearing conducted under the provisions of this Act, and who shall refuse and neglect to appear or to testify, or to produce books, papers, accounts and documents relative to said hearings, as commanded in such subpoena, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.

The commission or any member thereof, may, in any hearing before the commission, cause the deposition of witnesses residing within or without the State, to be taken in the manner prescribed by law for like depositions in civil actions in the courts of this State.

All hearings shall be held before at least two members of said commission, and the concurrence of at least two members of the commission shall be necessary to any finding or order.

At the conclusion of such hearing, the commission shall enter an order finding whether or not the person, club, corporation or association, concerning which such hearing is held, has been guilty of a violation of any valid rule, regulation or order of the commission, or has been guilty of a violation of any of the provisions of this Act, or has failed to comply with any or all conditions required in this Act, and shall specify the nature of the violation or failure to comply.

Such finding shall be the basis for a refusal or for the granting of a license or permit to such person, club, corporation or association, but such finding shall not be admissible in evidence or be conclusive against such person, club, corporation or association or any officer, member or stockholder thereof, in any criminal prosecution brought for the violation of any of the provisions of this Act, nor shall such hearing and finding be a bar to any criminal prosecution which may be brought for the violation of any of the provisions of this Act.

Buildings and Structures

Sec. 18. All the buildings or structures used, or intended to be used for the purpose of this Act shall be properly ventilated and provided with fire exits and fire escapes, if need be, and in all manner conform to laws, ordinances and regulations pertaining to the buildings in the city, town or village where situated.

Rules Regarding Matches—Penalty for Violation

Sec. 19. No person, club, corporation or association shall:

(a) Hold or conduct any boxing, sparring, or wrestling match or exhibition on Sunday; or

(b) Permit any person under the age of eighteen years to participate in any boxing, sparring or wrestling match or exhibition; or

(c) Permit any gambling, or betting or wagering of any character on the result of, or any contingency in connection with, any boxing, sparring, or wrestling match or exhibition conducted by it, either before, after or during any such contest; or

(d) Conduct or give or participate in, or permit, any sham or fake boxing, sparring, or wrestling match or exhibition.

Any person, club, corporation or association, or the officers of any unincorporated club or association which violates any of the provisions of this section, is guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, severally, be fined not less than one thousand dollars ($1,000.00) nor more than ten thousand dollars ($10,000.00).

Who May Engage in Match—Penalty

Sec. 20. No person shall:

(a) Engage in any boxing, sparring, or wrestling match or exhibition on Sunday; or

(b) Gamble, bet or wager on the result of or any contingency connected with any boxing or sparring or wrestling exhibition; or

(c) Participate in any sham or fake boxing, sparring, or wrestling match or exhibition, where such match or exhibition is conducted by any licensed club, corporation or association; or

(d) Being under the age of eighteen years, participate in any boxing, sparring, or wrestling match or exhibition.

Any person violating any of the provisions of this section is guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be fined not less than one hundred dollars, or more than one thousand dollars ($1,000.00).

If such a person is a licensed contestant in this State, he shall, for the first offense, in addition to the fine, suffer a revocation of his license and for the second offense, be forever barred and disqualified from receiving a license or participating in any boxing, sparring, or wrestling match or exhibition within this state.

Medical Examination—Fees for Examination—Rounds—Gloves—Penalties

Sec. 21. Each contestant for boxing, sparring or wrestling, shall be examined prior to entering the ring, by a competent physician appointed by the Commission, who has been licensed by the State Athletic Commission and has practiced in the State of Illinois for not less than five years. The physician shall, if he so finds the facts, certify in writing over his signature that each contestant is physically fit to engage in such contest. Said physician shall mail said report of examination to the Commission within a period of twenty-four hours after the contest. Blank forms of physician's report shall be furnished to physicians, by the Commission, and all questions on blank forms must be answered in full. The physician shall be paid a fee, the amount of which shall be fixed by the Commission, by the person, club, corporation or association conducting the match or exhibition. No such match, contest or exhibition shall be held unless a physician so licensed by the Commission shall be in attendance.

No boxing or sparring match or exhibition shall be of more than fifteen rounds in length, such rounds shall not be more than three minutes each with a one minute interval between rounds, and no boxer shall be allowed to participate in more than fifteen rounds within seventy-two consecutive hours. The Commission may, in respect to any bout or in respect to any class of contestants, limit the number of rounds of a bout within the maximum of fifteen rounds. At each boxing, or sparring match or exhibition there shall be in attendance a duly licensed referee, who shall direct and control the same. Before starting such contest the referee shall ascertain from each contestant the name of his chief second, and shall hold such chief second responsible for the conduct of his assistant seconds during the progress of the contest. The referee shall have power, in his discretion to declare held any prize, remuneration or purse, or any part thereof, belonging to the contestants or one of them, if, in his judgment, such contestant or contestants are not honestly competing, subject, however, to a hearing before the Commission to determine the final order of the Commission.

There shall also be in attendance two duly licensed judges, who shall, at the termination of each such boxing or sparring match or exhibition, render their decision. The decision of the judges, taken together with the decision of the referee, shall be final.

Each contestant shall wear, during such contest, gloves, weighing not less than six ounces. The provisions of this section shall apply to a wrestling contest, except that the Commission shall by rules and regulations prescribe the length or duration of such contest, the manner in which the contestants shall engage in such contest and such further safeguards and conditions as shall insure fair, sportsmanlike and scientific wrestling contests.

Any person, club, corporation or association or the officers of any club, corporation or association, which holds any boxing, sparring or wrestling match or exhibition in violation of the provisions of this section is guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be fined not less than One Thousand Dollars ($1,000.00) nor more than Ten Thousand Dollars ($10,000.00).

Any physician making the physical examination described in this section who, knowingly certifies falsely to the physical condition of any contestant, is guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be fined not less than Five Hundred Dollars ($500.00) nor more than One Thousand Dollars ($1,000.00). (Amended by Act approved April 26, 1933.)

Amateur Matches Not Subject to Act

Sec. 22. No amateur boxing, sparring, or wrestling match or exhibition, which is hereby defined to be one in which the participants receive no compensation, gifts, emolument, or percentage of the gate receipts, either directly or indirectly, shall be subject to the provisions of this Act, except that they are permitted.

License—Fee—Application

Sec. 23. No contestant shall be permitted to participate in any boxing, sparring, or wrestling match or exhibition unless duly registered and licensed with the State athletic commission, which license must be renewed annually. The license fee and the renewal fee shall be not less than five dollars ($5.00), paid at the time of the application for the license or renewal.

Any person who desires to be registered and licensed as a contestant, shall file his application, in writing, with the commission, which application shall, among other things, state the correct name of the applicant, the date and place of his birth, the place of his residence, and his employment, business, or occupation, if any. The application must be verified under oath of the applicant. Application for renewal of license shall be in similar form. No assumed, or ring names shall be used in any application, nor in any advertisement of any such contest unless such ring or assumed name has been registered with the Commission with the correct name of the applicant.

Each application for license or for renewal thereof, must be accompanied by the certificate of a physician residing within this State, who has been licensed as herein provided, and has practiced in this State for not less than five years, certifying that such physician has made a thorough physical examination of the applicant, and that the applicant is physically fit and qualified to participate in boxing, sparring, or wrestling matches or exhibitions.

Referees—License—Fee

Sec. 24. The Commission shall, upon application, grant licenses to competent referees, whose qualifications may be tested by said Commission and who shall be bona fide residents of the State of Illinois having resided in the State one year, and may revoke any such license granted to any referee, upon such cause as the Commission may deem sufficient. Such license must be renewed annually. No person shall be permitted to act as referee in this State unless holding such license. The application for license as a referee or renewal thereof, shall be accompanied by an annual fee, which shall be not less than twenty-five dollars ($25.00). The Commission shall appoint from among such licensed referees, the referee for all contests held under the provisions of this Act.

Report to Commission—Tax on Gross Receipts—Bond

Sec. 25. Every person, club, corporation or association, which may conduct any match or exhibition under this Act, shall, within twenty-four hours after the determination thereof, furnish to the Commission, by mail, a written report duly verified by one of its officers, showing the number of tickets sold for such contest and the amount of the gross proceeds thereof, and such other matters as the Commission may prescribe, and shall also within the said time pay to the State Treasurer a tax of ten per centum of the total gross receipts from the sale of tickets of admission to such match or exhibition, which tax shall be placed in the general revenue fund. Before any license shall be granted to any person, club, corporation or association, to conduct, hold or give any boxing, sparring or wrestling match or exhibition, such applicant therefor shall execute and file with the State Treasurer a bond in the sum of not less than One Thousand Dollars ($1,000.00) to be approved as to form and sufficiency of the sureties thereon, by the State Treasurer, payable to the People of the State of Illinois, and conditioned for the payment of the tax hereby imposed, and the compliance with this Act, and the valid rules and regulations of this Commission. Upon the filing and approval of such bond, the State Treasurer shall issue to such applicant, a certificate and duplicate thereof of such filing and approval, one of which shall be by said applicant filed in the office of the Commission with its application for such license, and no license shall be issued until such certificate shall have been filed. (Amended by Act approved July 6, 1933.)

Failure to Make Report of Contest—Default in Payment of Tax

Sec. 26. Whenever any such person, club, corporation or association shall fail to make a report of any contest at the time prescribed by this Act, or whenever any such report is unsatisfactory to the State Treasurer, he may examine or cause to be examined the books and records of such club, corporation or association, and subpoena and examine under oath its officers and other persons as witnesses for the purpose of determining the total amount of its gross receipts for any contests and the amount of tax due pursuant to the provisions of this Act, which tax he may, upon, and as the result of such examination, fix and determine.

In case of the default in the payment of any tax so ascertained to be due, together with the expenses incurred in making such examinations, for a period of twenty days after notice to such delinquent person, club, corporation or association of the amount at which the same may be fixed by the State Treasurer, such delinquent shall be disqualified from receiving any new license and the Attorney-General shall institute suit upon the bond filed pursuant to section 25, to recover the tax or penalties imposed by this Act.

Capacity of Building

Sec. 27. It shall be unlawful for any person, club, corporation or association receiving a license hereunder, to sell, or cause to be sold or issued, more tickets or invitations purporting to admit to any such match or exhibition or otherwise to admit to the same, more persons than are admissible according to the authorized capacity of the building, or part thereof, actually used therefor.

Inspectors to Attend Contests

Sec. 28. The Commission shall appoint official representatives designated as inspectors, each of whom shall receive from the Commission a card authorizing him to act as such inspector, wherever the Commission may designate him to act. One inspector shall be present at all boxing, sparring, or wrestling matches or exhibitions, and see that the rules of the Commission, and the provisions of this Act are strictly observed, and shall also be present at the counting up of the gross receipts, and shall immediately mail to the Commission the official box office statement received by him from the person or officers of the club, corporation or association, conducting such exhibition.

Act Construed

Sec. 29. Nothing in this Act shall in any way be so construed as to give to any one person, club, corporation or association, the right to hold or give boxing, sparring, or wrestling matches or exhibitions in more than one city or in more than one location in any city without written authority and consent of the Commission.

Fees—Disposal

Sec. 30. All fees received by the Commission under the provisions of this Act shall be turned over to the State Treasurer within ten days and placed in the general revenue fund.

Repeal—When Act Does Not Apply

Sec. 31. The provisions of sections 231, 232, 233, 234, 235 and 236 of an Act entitled, "An Act to revise the law in relation to criminal jurisprudence," approved March 27, 1874, in force July 1, 1874, shall not apply to any boxing or sparring match or exhibition conducted, held or given by any club, corporation or association duly licensed in accordance with the provisions of this Act, or to any amateur boxing or sparring match or exhibition as herein defined.

Penalty for Violation of Act

Sec. 32. Any person who violates any of the provisions of this Act, for which a penalty is not herein expressly prescribed, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not less than twenty-five dollars ($25.00) nor more than one thousand dollars ($1,000.00) or by imprisonment of not more than ninety days.

Validity—Referendum—Ballot

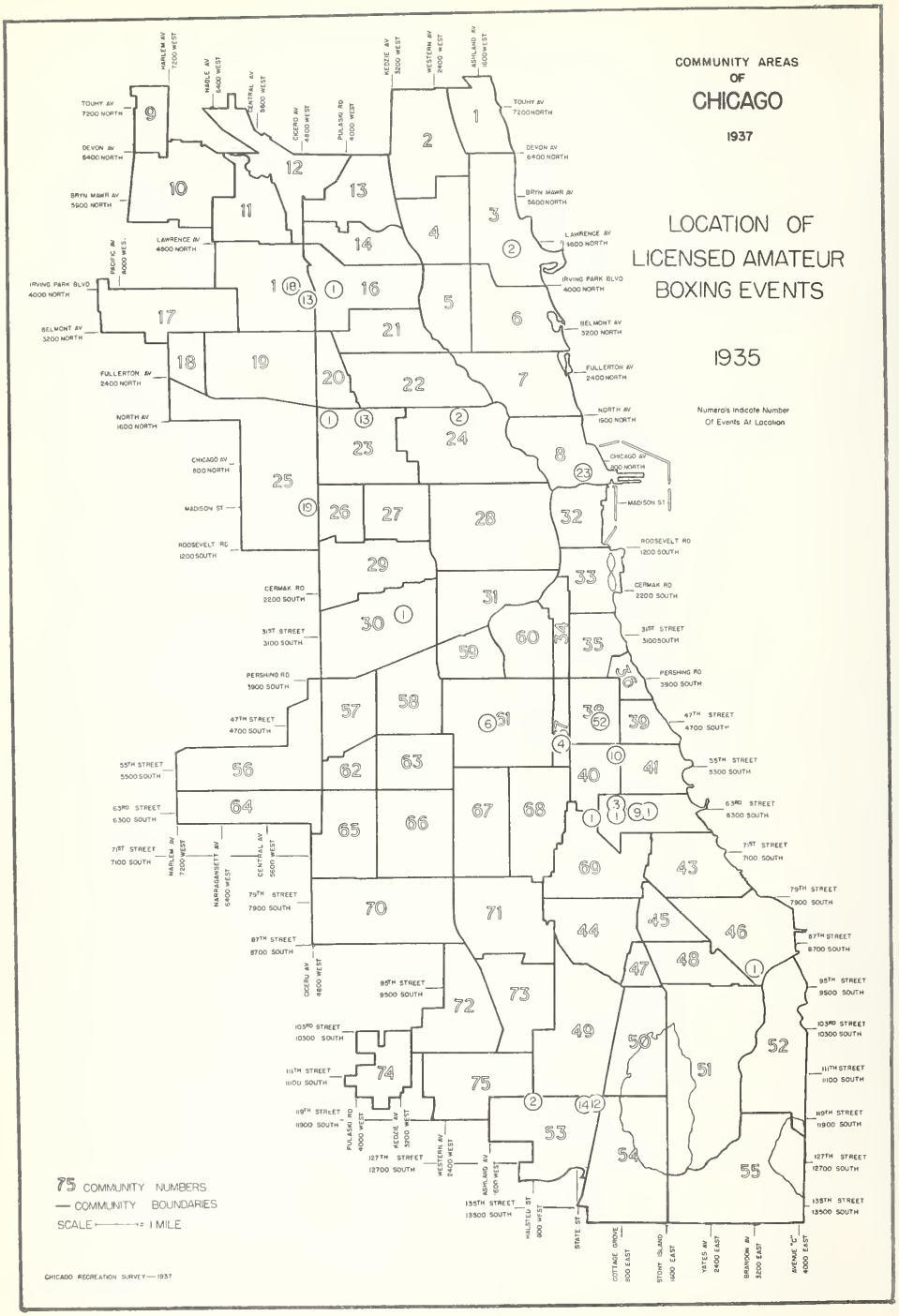
Sec. 33. In case any section or part of section of this Act shall be declared unconstitutional, it shall not affect the validity of the remainder.

Sec. 34. No license or permit shall be issued to any person, club, corporation or association to conduct sparing, boxing or wrestling matches or exhibitions within any city, village or incorporated town unless the question of whether such licenses or permits shall be issued for such contests within such municipality has been submitted to the voters of such municipality at a general or primary election held in such municipality and a majority of the votes on such question have been a favor of such contests or exhibitions within such municipality. The city, village or incorporated town council or board may, and upon the petition of five per cent of the legal voters of such municipality shall, cause such question to be submitted to the electors of their municipality at any general or primary election. The ballot shall be in substantially the following form:

For boxing, sparring or wrestling matches and exhibitions within the municipality.	
Against boxing, sparring or wrestling matches and exhibitions within the municipality.	

If a majority of the votes cast upon such proposition are in favor of boxing, sparring and wrestling matches or exhibitions within such municipality, the Commission may thereafter, in accordance with the provisions of this Act, issue licenses or permits for such contests or exhibitions within such municipality.

(Filed July 13, 1925.)


COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
LOCATION OF
LICENSED AMATEUR
BOXING EVENTS
1935
Numerals Indicate Number
Of Events At Location
75 COMMUNITY NUMBERS
— COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES
SCALE ——→ 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY — 1937

corporate limits of Chicago with 272,797 spectators, or 76.36 per cent of the total 357,231 patrons attracted to these events. The receipts in Chicago, representing 70 per cent of the state total, approximated $93,000 or an average of $245 for each amateur card. The state's tax from Chicago bouts, representing a 10 per cent fee, amounted to $9,301.01. The majority of the amateur cards were sponsored by various business organizations, civic groups, units of political parties, the American Legion, and in some instances by private promoters. Amateur boxing in the city of Chicago, with an average attendance of 720, provided a more potent attraction than many of the regularly scheduled professional matches in the city. In all probability one significant reason was that the average admission charge was only thirty cents.

Location of Amateur Boxing Events in Chicago 1935

Location	*Number of events*
4633-7 South Ashland Avenue	6
5200 Cottage Grove Avenue	10
6115 Cottage Grove Avenue	3
6158 Cottage Grove Avenue	1
115th and Halsted Streets	2
9231 South Houston Street	1
4251 Irving Park Boulevard	1
4848 Irving Park Boulevard	18
139 Kensington Avenue	14
5100 South LaSalle Street	4
1116 Leland Avenue	2
4711-25 West Madison Street	19
505 North Michigan Avenue	23
3968-72 Milwaukee Avenue	13
2025 West North Avenue	2
3741 West North Avenue	13
4310 West North Avenue	1
4700 South Parkway	52
6300 South Park Avenue	1
6308 South Woodlawn Avenue	1
3100 West 26th Street	1
1154 East 63d Street	9
205-15 East 115th Street	12
Not specified	3
Total	212

Although the ages of the individual boxers in the 1936 Golden Gloves Tournament were not available, an attempt was made on the basis of this tournament to relate amateur boxing activity in the city to the population in the various community areas. Accepting the age group from 18 to 24 inclusive as the major classification in which the greater percentage of the contestants can be grouped, it was found that in 7 of the outlying areas of the city there were no boys entered in the tournament; in 6 areas there was one entrant in the Golden Gloves Tournament for every 50 boys and from this maximum the percentage of the age group in the community area competing in the tournament ranged down to .2 per cent or more than 10,000 boys to each contestant in 9 areas of the city.

Number of males between 18-24 years of age inclusive for each contestant in community area

12, 13, 54, 62, 64, 70, 72	No contestants
32, 33, 35, 36, 38, 40, 56, 74	1- 99
17, 21, 27, 28, 31, 34, 37, 42, 47, 57, 58, 60, 63, 65, 68	100- 199
3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 16, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 26, 39, 41, 45, 46, 55, 67, 69, 75	200- 299
4, 7, 15, 19, 25, 44, 51, 61, 66, 71	300- 399
2, 5, 14, 29, 30, 48, 50, 53	400- 499
1, 43, 49, 52, 73	500- 999
11, 59	1,000-1,499

Boxing has long been regarded as a means of self defense; therefore, it is entirely consistent that the greatest number and also the highest ratio of competitors to the population should be in those areas and among those groups where survival of the fittest was long dependent upon one's ability to defend his rights with fists rather than words. The various interstitial areas of the city with diversified nationality groups and with low incomes provide the largest numbers competing in the tournament. This is due to some extent to the fact that various social agencies, youth organizations and religious groups have combined to further varied athletic programs, including boxing, as a means of curbing juvenile delinquency.

Professional

Professional boxing during 1935 in Chicago was provided at twelve locations, although most of the total of 103 matches centered in three locations.

Location	*Number of events*
Arcadia Gardens, 4444 Broadway	1
Chicago Stadium, 1800 West Madison Street	8
Coliseum, 1501 South Wabash Avenue	1

(*Continued on page 80*)

Location	Number of events
Guyon's Paradise, 128 North Pulaski Road	1
Marigold Gardens, 840 Grace Street	47
Midway Arena, 6115 Cottage Grove Avenue	18
Mills Stadium, Lake Street at Kilpatrick	3
Northwest Stadium, 3940 Milwaukee Avenue	1
Western Stadium, 6436 North Western Avenue	15
White City Arena, 63d Street and South Park Avenue	5
White Sox Park, 35th Street and Shields Avenue	2
70th and Loomis Streets	1
Total	103

For those locations which produced boxing on more than ten occasions during the year, the average attendance was 757 and the average receipts were $635.72. The total number of preliminary bouts at the various Chicago matches during 1935 varied as follows:

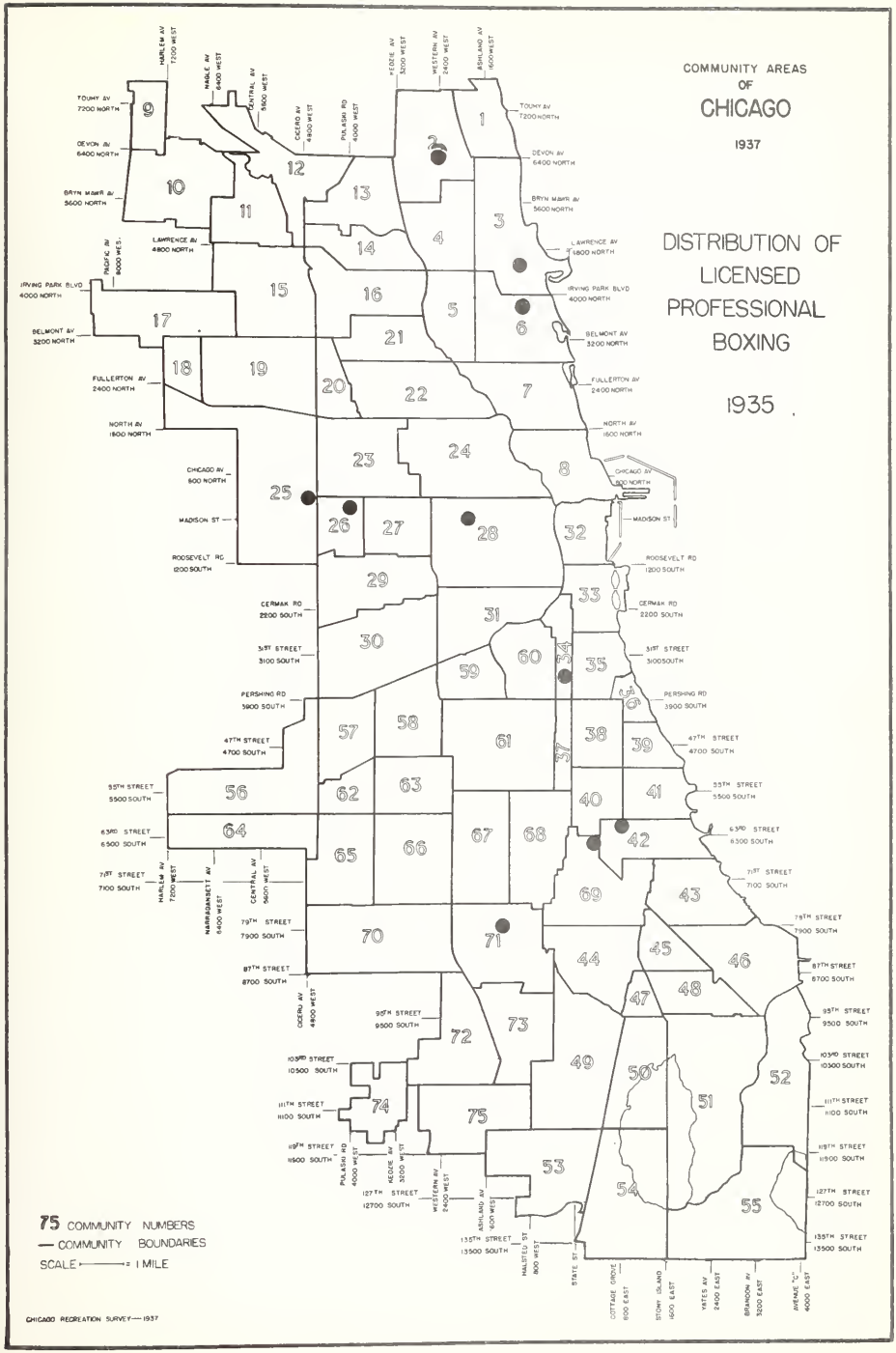
Events with three preliminaries	5
Events with four preliminaries	22
Events with five preliminaries	67
Events with six preliminaries	7
Events with seven preliminaries	1
Events with eight preliminaries	1
Total	103

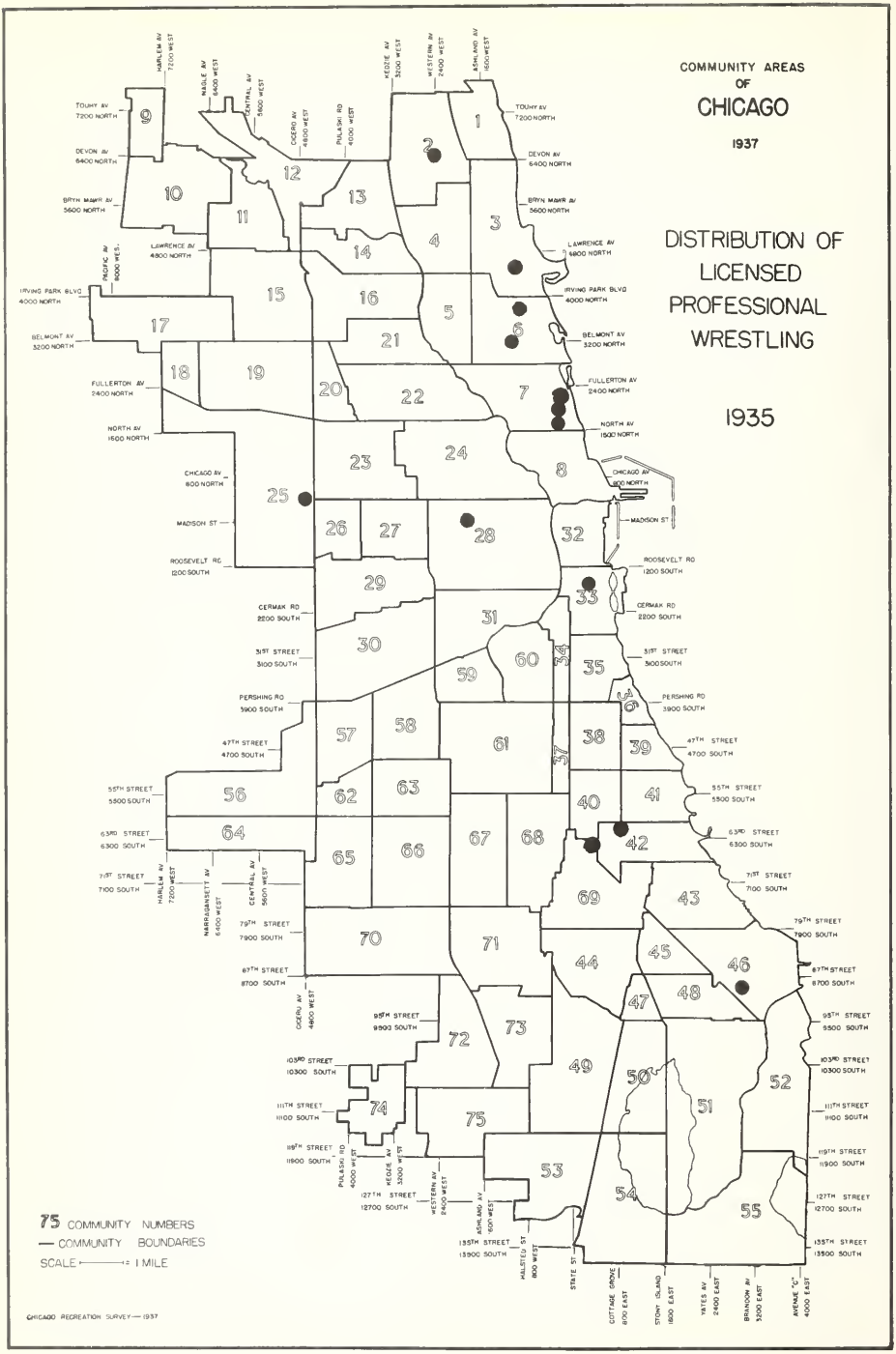
The total number of individual boxers competing in the 598 fights was 341. The average number of bouts for each boxer was 3.5; however, several competed in more than twenty matches.

Of the 117 professional events held during 1937, in the various parts of the state, 103 or 88 per cent, were located in Chicago, and attracted 96.75 per cent of the total state attendance. A total of 185,163 patrons attended the Chicago matches; only 6,224 witnessed the downstate professional events. $748,552.62 or 99.32 per cent of the total receipts for Illinois professional matches was paid for Chicago events. The state's share of the professional boxing receipts in Chicago was $74,855.27, as contrasted with the $510.15 paid as the 10 per cent fee on the downstate events. The biggest factor in the Chicago totals, which reflected an increase over the previous year, was the Joe Louis-James J. Braddock championship fight held at Comiskey Park; this bout attracted an attendance of 41,675 and grossed receipts of $607,208.72. The rates of admission for this match ranged from a minimum of $3.60 to a top of $27.50, including tax for ringside seats. The average professional boxing match held in the city charged rates of admission ranging from 75 cents to $1.80 including tax, although some of the more popular attractions exacted higher rates. Based upon the total receipts for the year, the average receipts for the various Chicago bouts was $7,267.50, but if the Louis-Braddock bout be deducted the average receipts drop to $1,385.72. Likewise, if this same fight be eliminated in the computations, the average admission charge stands at $1.01; with this fight included the average rises to $4.04. The patronage at Chicago professional bouts average 1,407 without the Louis fight, and 1,798 when this match is included.

Generally 55 per cent of the receipts goes to the purses of the various contestants (the percentages varying for more important attractions); the remainder is expended for rental of the location, hiring the necessary employees, payment of advertising costs, state and federal taxes, and other items incidental to the production of matches of this type. Any surplus is the promoters' profit for the undertaking. In a recent event which is regarded as being somewhat typical, the two competitors in the main attraction received 15 and 12½ per cent, respectively, of the "gate." Each of the two semi-final boxers was paid on the basis of 2½ per cent of the gross receipts, and the six boxers who composed the supporting card each received 1 per cent of the gate receipts. The average gate receipts paid at this address over a period of a year have been less than $600. On this basis some of the contestants would have received less than $10 for their night's work. However, there is often a minimum guarantee for most of the preliminary fighters as well as the headline attractions. Significant in the 1937 professional boxing picture in the city of Chicago was the fact that only two bouts were held at the Chicago Stadium, with the greatest indoor seating capacity in the city. Most of the total attendance, however, exclusive of the Louis-Braddock fight, was piled up through the regularly scheduled weekly events at White City, Marigold Gardens and the Rainbow Fronton.*

*Boxing events patronized by Chicagoans are also provided in Cicero, Illinois, adjacent to the city of Chicago.


COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
DISTRIBUTION OF
LICENSED
PROFESSIONAL
BOXING
1935
75 COMMUNITY NUMBERS
COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES
SCALE = 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY — 1937


COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
DISTRIBUTION OF
LICENSED
PROFESSIONAL
WRESTLING
1935
75 COMMUNITY NUMBERS
— COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES
SCALE ⟵ ⟶ 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY — 1937

Commenting upon the lack of important boxing contests outside of the aforementioned Louis-Braddock fight, Arch Ward, sports editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, points out that frequently when an outstanding boxer is matched for a contest in Chicago, the calibre of the opponent selected for him is so low (on the basis of previous record) that it is not difficult to explain why the crowds stay away. He suggests further that even when Chicago boxers develop into champions and leading contenders, their major professional careers seemingly do not include Chicago matches. In summarizing the entire boxing situation and the lack of headliner bouts in the city, he concludes:

"Chicago will support important boxing contests as well as New York or any other city in the world. . . . The Golden Gloves finals, intercity and international bouts are sold out in advance. . . . When Chicago Stadium was presenting headliners the bouts were well patronized. . . . Since control of professional boxing has been monopolized by New York promoters, Chicago gets the matches which would do little business in New York. . . . We probably have our share of saps and suckers, but they aren't sufficiently numerous, we hope, to make bouts like . . . . . profitable. . . . It is a neighborhood show, nothing more, and will be treated as such by this department." [1]

Wrestling

According to followers of the sport there is little if any difference between the status of professional wrestling in Illinois and in other states. While at intervals there is a championship contest, by far the greater percentage of wrestling in Chicago is of the exhibition type. These bouts frequently include many of the leading proponents of the histrionic type of wrestler providing the "colorful" type of show. On the basis of limited information there appear to be two rival managerial factions operating in the city, one of which provides wrestlers for the south side and one for the north side location; usually the same wrestlers are on both cards in the same week, wrestling against each other one night and opposing two other members of the troupe at the second center. Recently one of the "leading contenders" was included on cards in the city for three engagements in four days. After completing the Chicago run the "act" fills engagements in other middle western communities, and individual members are occasionally shifted from one troupe to another under the same management. With the exception of the Londos-Lewis match at Wrigley Field in 1934, attended by the largest crowd ever to witness a wrestling match in the city, there have been few outstanding wrestling events in the city for several years. This is said to be due to the fact that various factions do not encourage competition between their several "champions."

In professional wrestling during 1935, 562 bouts were provided at the 119 professional wrestling events in the city; 76 events had 4 preliminaries, 38 three, and 5 had five bouts in addition to the major attraction. Wrestling was provided at the following eleven locations during 1935:

Name	*Address*
Arcadia Gardens	4444 Broadway
Chicago Stadium	1800 West Madison St.
Coliseum	1513 South Wabash Ave.
Marigold Gardens	840 Grace St.
Merry Gardens	Belmont and Sheffield Aves.
Midway Arena	6115 Cottage Grove Ave.
Mills Stadium	Lake St. at Kilpatrick Ave.
Western Stadium	6436 N. Western Ave.
White City Arena	63d St. and South Park Ave.
Immaculate Conception church	8801 Commercial Ave.
Hall	1764 Larrabee St.

The number of events held during the year varied from two locations with 1, up to one location with 45 nights of wrestling; four had 4 events scheduled, one had 5, two 10, and one provided 31 scheduled events. The attendance at wrestling professional matches during that year reached 131,565, varying from more than 9,507 at the one location providing 4 of the more outstanding attractions down to 67 at one location providing only one show.

The four professional wrestling events held at the former location, Chicago Stadium, accounted for 42.94 per cent of the total receipts for the city. The location with the largest number of events, 45, ranked second with 21.78 per cent. At this location the average attendance was slightly over 1,000 with average receipts of $548.38. At the smaller locations the average attendance was approximately 500 spectators, who paid slightly over $300 for each card. It will be observed that these latter figures do not provide

[1] *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 4, 1938.

any wide margins of profit after the operating expenses and taxes have been deducted. A total of 419 wrestlers competed in the 562 events held during the year. The average wrestler competed in 2.7 matches while three were in more than 20 events during the year.

In 1937 there were 110 professional wrestling events in Chicago, 45 per cent of the 244 in the whole state. While Chicago was the scene of less than half of the bouts, approximately 71 per cent of the total receipts or $104,167.91, poured into Chicago box offices. An average crowd of 1,833 spectators witnessed professional wrestling in the city, paying an average of $946.98 per show at an average admission rate of 50 cents. There were three locations providing Chicagoans with regular weekly scheduled wrestling events, namely, White City Arena on Monday night, the Rainbow Fronton on Wednesday, and Marigold Gardens on Friday. In addition an occasional event is held at the Coliseum.

In 1937 some 323 boxers and 179 wrestlers paid a total of $2,510 in $5.00 license fees, and 28 referees added $700 at the rate of $25 each for licenses. It is a matter of record that during this same year 19 promoters, 49 managers, 92 seconds, 38 judges, 24 announcers, 25 timekeepers and 32 doctors licensed by the commission were actively engaged in the promotion and regulation of boxing and wrestling in the state.

All of the above, with the exception of the judges, are required to pay an annual license fee. During 1937 comparatively few contestants were suspended for varying periods of time for infractions of the rules and regulations of the commission.

With the exception of the gambling which to a minor degree is evident at many of the contests, spectators at boxing and wrestling shows have not presented any particular problems. Probably this is due to the types of ushering provided in many of the larger establishments; the same group which directs the seating of patrons at both of the major league ball parks officiates in this same capacity at the larger establishments. The efficiency with which they perform their services has earned them nationwide attention, and consequently they are called upon to act at similar large mass attractions in other cities.

CHAPTER VIII

COMMERCIAL HEALTH CLUBS, GYMNASIUMS, NATATORIUMS

An earlier chapter, while discussing general trends in recreation in the United States, indicated a tremendous growth in vicarious types of amusements, accompanied, however, by a remarkable increase in the number of individuals actively participating in certain sports. Swimming, badminton, handball, squash, ping-pong, tennis and golf were noted as prominent among those in which an individual could partake either alone or with a limited number of fellow-players. The varied intramural, interscholastic, and intercollegiate programs of high schools and colleges have been effective in encouraging participation in many of these activities. As a result each year thousands of young men, and recently young women, graduate from schools into the business world with some preference in leisure-time activities. Because, however, most types of recreation include some kind of social tie, breaking away from old associates tends frequently to terminate an individual's interest in these activities; the lack of suitable easily accessible facilities tends toward a like result; and again absorption in business often forces all thought of recreation into the background. Industry itself has done as yet comparatively little to provide for the leisure time of its employees, and public agencies still place their major emphasis upon the youthful elements in the population. Because the working day almost inevitably concentrates into a few evening hours the demand upon whatever adult public facilities do exist, tax-supported agencies rarely can provide completely for any but mass or group activities for adults. It is to fill this need that the large private social and athletic clubs of one type or another have developed. These agencies, in the main, are membership organizations established for the mutual benefit of their members. A more complete discussion of these clubs will be included in Volume III of this study. Often membership in the more exclusive recreational clubs is contingent upon an individual's social status, and initiation fees, annual dues and fees are relatively high. In the instance of many clubs, however, membership is determined primarily by ability to pay moderate charges and fees. This latter type of club has within recent years supplanted more restricted membership clubs which were unable to weather the economic debacle of the past eight years.

The reorganization programs, necessitated by the financial collapse of some of these larger clubs which left them with buildings and equipment valued up to millions of dollars, have frequently brought about a liberalizing attitude whereby initiation fees have been eliminated, moderate dues have been established, and a comparatively large proportion of the business population made eligible for membership. Indeed, the patronage of the general public is often solicited for certain facilities, such as swimming pools, bowling alleys, billiard halls, ballrooms, gymnasiums, exercising rooms and similar equipment. In some instances use of facilities is permitted on an individual fee, with special rates to encourage continued patronage.

Because of this new policy of many so-called private clubs, originally established for a limited group, it is sometimes difficult to differentiate between private clubs and commercial establishments. It is especially difficult to draw the line between the gymnasiums and accessory equipment in these agencies and similar facilities in establishments admittedly operated with the profit motive. The fact that no specific license fees are assessed by the city for commercial gymnasiums, baths and athletic clubs adds to the confusion; so does the fact that in the case of natatoriums, only four were licensed as commercial, although many more including some in hotels and apartments were open to the public on payment of a fee.

Health Clubs

The commercial health clubs of today reveal the progress made in this type of establishment, since they were first opened primarily for those who wished to reduce their waistlines. From a questionable activity the health club has risen to the level of a reputable business patronized by the city's business and professional leaders. That the commercial establishment offers facilities comparable to the better private clubs is indicated by an inventory of one of the city's most prominent institutions of this type. Included are facilities for squash, badminton, handball, golf instruction, table tennis, corrective exercises, gymnasium activities, and physio- and hydro-therapy, as well as Turkish, mineral and rejuvenating baths, sun lamps, and valet service and a barber shop. Physical examinations are required before admission to any department. The majority of the health clubs are open daily, except Sunday, from 8 A.M. until 8 P.M. Almost all are located in the Loop district, most of the patronage consisting of executives and other high-salaried employees occupied in this area.

The rates, or membership fees as they are known, are determined by the length of the course and the number of services the individual wishes included. In one establishment with more than 600 members, a year's course costs $300.00, six months, $185.00, and three months, $120.00. These charges include everything mentioned in the preceding paragraph except certain baths for which an additional fee is required. Another club has an annual unlimited rate of $150.00 for approximately the same type of services. One of the large Loop private type clubs has a special membership of $100.00 per year for the following: unlimited massages, violet ray and infra-red lamp, valet service, locker, swimming, handball, workout rooms, golf-driving room, steam room; and an alternative rate of $50.00 for the use of athletic facilities and steam rooms.

The daily attendance at one establishment in existence over twenty years averages 150 with a peak of more than 250.

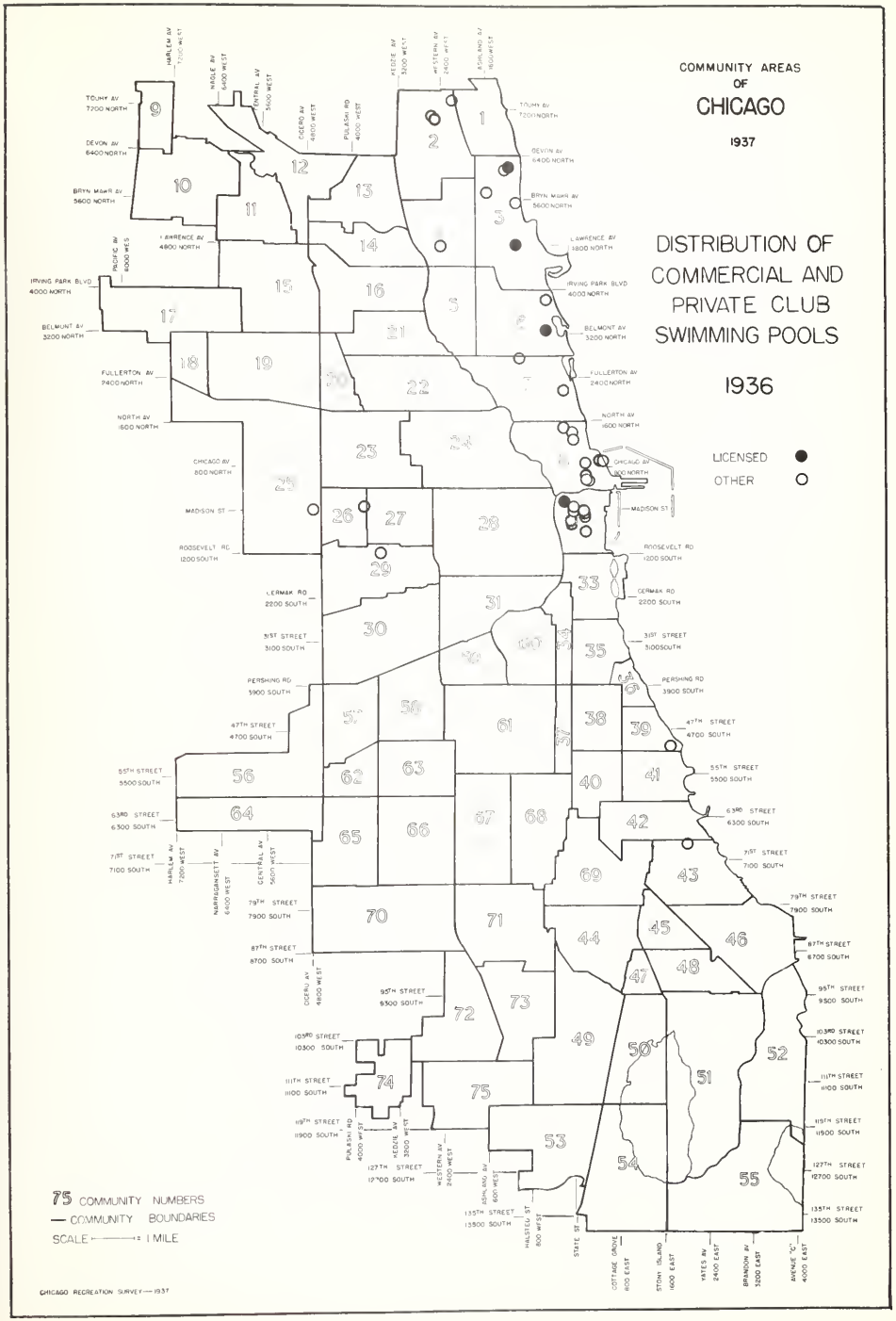
The LaSalle Street Club of the Central Y.M.C.A., composed chiefly of employees of "banks, brokerage houses, insurance companies and legal offices," charges a maximum membership fee of $110.00 for all physical privileges, plus club quarters, lockers, showers and gymnasium, rest rooms, sun lamps, electric cabinets, massage, handball, shoe shine, towels and soap. Lower rates are provided for fewer activities. While the Y.M.C.A. is a private organization and the above information is included only for comparative purposes, it is significant that more than 2,700 members pay annual dues ranging from $25.00 up to the maximum.

Although the largest proportion of health club business in the Loop is derived from business men, several have been established in the past decade especially for women. For similar services the rates are approximately the same as prevail in the male establishments. One such salon reports a total of more than 500 women. The patronage of health clubs comes to no inconsiderable extent from those who wish to "recondition" themselves, or "reduce," as it is more prosaically termed; from another group, increasing in number, who wish to stay in condition and keep physically fit; and from a third class composed of individuals who enjoy certain forms of physical recreation and join health clubs to avail themselves of necessary facilities.

In this study it has not been possible to go thoroughly into the question of the effectiveness of this type of recreational establishment. Physicians and others particularly interested in physical culture and health problems vary in their opinions; some commend health clubs very highly, while others suggest that inasmuch as the chief appeal is to the business man who has probably not exercised to any degree for years prior to joining these organizations, there is a possibility of serious injury to the individual's health, particularly when he is permitted to indulge in intensive sports and exercise. However, it is generally agreed that when a program of gradual participation is conducted under close supervision and with due regard to the individual condition of the patron the possibility of ill effects is materially reduced.

Gymnasiums

The commercial gymnasium serves a somewhat different purpose than the health club and has an entirely different patronage. It should be distinguished also from the hall or arena in which spectator athletic contests are held. The commer-


COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
DISTRIBUTION OF
COMMERCIAL AND
PRIVATE CLUB
SWIMMING POOLS
1936
LICENSED
OTHER
75 COMMUNITY NUMBERS
COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES
SCALE 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY — 1937

cial gymnasium is maintained to provide a training site for amateur and professional boxers and wrestlers. Often the proprietors are ex-professional boxers; in any event there is someone associated with this type of establishment who can provide instruction in the fundamentals of boxing and wrestling.

In recent years in Chicago there has been an amazing growth in amateur boxing. Such tournaments as the *Chicago Tribune* Golden Gloves, with both veteran and novice classes, have done much to increase the number of youths actively participating in the sport. Many train independently and utilize public facilities; but usually because of the need for coaching and instruction and actual "sparring," as a boy becomes interested in the sport he does his training either at a private membership club or in one of the commercial gymnasiums.

More than ten of these gymnasiums are distributed throughout the city. The facilities of a typical "gym" usually include boxing rings, punching bags, pulley machines, handball courts, rubbing tables, showers and locker rooms. Seats are also provided for spectators. The hours of operation are from 10:30 A.M. until 8 P.M. to accommodate those who are employed and consequently must practice and "get in condition" after working hours. Rates for the use of the facilities average $5.00 per month.

Based upon the number of regular users, the gymnasium of the Catholic Youth Organization,* which is open at a fee of $1.00 per year, is the most active in the city. A well-known Loop gymnasium and a club at 1154 East 63d Street are popular with amateur as well as professional boxers. In the instance of the former, workouts of champions and outstanding contenders prior to Chicago bouts are open to the public, usually between 1:30 and 4 P.M.

Boxing has risen to a foremost sport among Negroes the country over, particularly since Joe Louis became champion. Many of the leading Negro amateur boxers of the city train at the Wallace Gym on South Parkway at which dues of $1.50 per month secure the privilege of the gymnasium and its equipment.

*A private organization which does not limit its sports activities exclusively to the religious group by which it is sponsored.

Natatoriums

In Volume I of this study the extent of public swimming facilities of the city was analyzed. In brief it will be recalled that Chicago has 42 beaches, 53 swimming pools, and 47 natatoriums maintained by public agencies in and adjacent to the city. Supplementing these in 1937 were sixty-six indoor swimming pools, located in private clubs, settlements, boys' clubs, hotels, hospitals, recreation and health clubs. There were no commercial bathing beaches in the city of Chicago.

Ordinances of the city include the following sections[1] concerned explicitly with swimming pools:

1962. License required—application for license —special requirements.] It shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation to engage in the business of carrying on or conducting a natatorium or swimming pool, where a charge is made for the use of such natatorium or pool, or where bathing suits are let or rented for hire, without first having obtained a license as hereinafter provided.

Any person, firm or corporation desiring to engage in the business of carrying on or conducting such natatorium or swimming pool shall make application in writing, which shall conform to the general provisions relating to applications for licenses, and shall state the location, character and size of the proposed natatorium or swimming pool, and the description and character of the building in which such natatorium or swimming pool, and the description and character of the companied by a certificate of the commissioner of health approving the location of said natatorium or swimming pool, stating that the same is properly equipped and suitable for the use of the public, that the water to be used in such natatorium or swimming pool is fit and suitable for such use, and that the life-saving apparatus, if any such is necessary, is sufficient in kind and character. If, upon the receipt of such application, approved as aforesaid, the mayor shall be satisfied that the applicant (or its chief officers, if the applicant is a corporation) is of good moral character and fit and suitable to conduct such business, he shall grant and cause to be issued to such applicant a license to establish, conduct or maintain such natatorium or swimming pool at the location set forth in said application, upon payment by said applicant of the license fee hereinafter provided.

1963. License fee.] Any person, firm or corporation to whom a license is issued under the

[1] *Revised Chicago Code of 1931*, ch. 37, art. 6, sec. 1962-1968.

provisions of this article shall pay to the city collector, at the time such license is issued, an annual license fee of fifteen dollars. Every such license fee shall expire on the thirtieth day of April following the date of its issuance, and such license fee shall not be pro-rated for any portion of a year.

1964. Revocation of license.] The mayor may, upon the recommendation of the commissioner of health or the commissioner of police, revoke any license granted under the terms of this article, for the violation of any of the provisions of this article or of any other ordinance of the city relating to natatoriums or swimming pools, or for any other good and sufficient cause.

1965. Sanitary requirements—suits, towels, etc.] It shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation maintaining or conducting any such natatorium or swimming pool under the provisions of this article to rent or give out for use or permit to be rented or given out for use any bathing suit, dress, stockings, cap or any other article of clothing, or any towel, cloth or bath brush owned or controlled by such person, firm or corporation, which has been worn or used by any person, until such bathing suit, dress, stockings, cap or other article of clothing, towel, cloth or bath brush has been thoroughly cleansed and boiled in water for a period of not less than ten minutes.

1966. Pool to be kept clean—fifty gallons of water per person.] Any person, firm or corporation conducting or maintaining a natatorium or swimming pool shall empty such pool at least once a week and shall thoroughly clean and scrub every portion of the surface of such pool, but no such pool shall be continued in service for a period so long that the allowance of water per person bathed therein shall be less than fifty gallons per person, and such pool shall be emptied and supplied with clean water throughout at least as soon as the said limit of fifty gallons per bather is reached.

1967. Life-saver—live-saving apparatus.] It shall be the duty of any person, firm or corporation to whom is granted a license to establish or conduct a natatorium or swimming pool to have present at such natatorium or swimming pool, at all hours when the same is to be open to the use of the public, at least one person skilled in swimming and diving and also trained in the giving of first aid for the resuscitation of persons who may be in need of such aid, to act as a life-saver. It shall be the further duty of such licensee to keep, ready for instant use, such ropes, life preservers or other life-saving apparatus as may be necessary for life-saving at such natatorium or pool. The qualifications of such life-saver and the fitness and sufficiency of such life-saving apparatus shall be determined by the commissioner of health.

1968. Penalty.] Any person, firm or corporation violating the provisions of section 1962 of this article shall be fined not less than twenty-five dollars nor more than two hundred dollars for each offense. Any person, firm or corporation violating any of the provisions of section 1965 or 1966 shall be fined not less than twenty dollars nor more than one hundred dollars for each offense. Any person, firm or corporation to whom a license has been granted to establish and conduct a natatorium or swimming pool violating any of the provisions of section 1967 or any other section of this article for which no specific penalty is provided shall be fined not less than ten dollars nor more than twenty-five dollars for each offense.

In 1937 despite these legal requirements only four of the privately owned swimming pools of the city were licensed, namely, those located in the Sovereign Hotel, 6200 Kenmore Avenue; Modern Woodmen of America Building, 6165 Winthrop Avenue; New Lawrence Hotel, 1020 Lawrence Avenue; and Butler House, 3212 Broadway. Some licensed in previous years were not licensed during 1937. A sampling of several unlicensed establishments revealed instances where public patronage was encouraged. In one instance rates for use of such pools are mentioned in advertising. The unlicensed pool in a large apartment hotel is open for a fee to individuals suitably recommended by residents or other pool users.

The rates for the use of the licensed pools range from 25 cents to 75 cents. The Health Department of the city is charged with the responsibility for securing compliance with sanitary regulations. The management of one pool (unlicensed in 1937), in recommending its facilities, announces that "the water is inspected at frequent intervals by the Chicago Board of Health." This establishment provides swimming instruction at $1.00 for non-members and 50 cents for members. Its public rate for mixed swimming is 50 cents.

Pools located in Y.M.C.A.'s, boys' clubs, and similar agencies are included in the analyses of these agencies in Volume III.

SOURCES OF REVENUE OF STATES WITH LEGAL HORSE RACING

STATE	TOTAL PERCENTAGE TAKEN OUT OF PARI-MUTUEL WAGERS	PERCENTAGE TO STATE	PAYMENT OF WAGER BREAKS TO	STATE TAX METHOD
ARKANSAS	14	4	Nickel	$500 daily tax 4% take out 10¢ on admissions
CALIFORNIA	12	4	Dime	4% take out employees licenses
DELAWARE	6	3	Dime	
FLORIDA	10	3	Nickel	3% take out 10¢ on admissions or 15% of total
ILLINOIS	6½		Dime	$1,000 to $2,500 daily tax 20¢ on admissions
KENTUCKY	10		Dime	$500 to $2,500 daily tax
MAINE	10			
MARYLAND	7½	1	Nickel	$6,000 daily tax 1% take out 15% net profits
MASSACHUSETTS	10	3½	Dime	$50 to $1,000 daily license employees license fee 3½% take out
MICHIGAN	7½		Dime	$12,000 annual rental Fair Grounds $2,500 daily tax 25¢ on admissions
NEBRASKA	10		Dime	$15 to $200 daily tax 15¢ on admissions
NEW HAMPSHIRE	10	3½	Nickel	3½% take out
NEW YORK (no pari-mutuels)				$25 daily tax 15% on admissions
OHIO	10		Dime	10% first $1,000 | 22½% next $5,000 15% next $4,000 | 25% next $5,000 20% next $5,000 | 30% all over
OREGON	12½	2½	Penny	$100 daily tax employees licenses
RHODE ISLAND	10	3½	Nickel	3½% take out
SOUTH DAKOTA	12	6	Dime	6% take out
WASHINGTON	15	5	Nickel	5% take out
WEST VIRGINIA	10	1	Dime	$250 to $500 daily tax 1% take out

(Nevada and New Jersey, which conduct horse race meetings are not noted)

CHAPTER IX

HORSE RACING, RIDING, POLO AND HORSE SHOWS

Horse Racing

Horse racing represents one of the oldest sports in the United States; for according to reports the first horse race for a prize was conducted in New York State in the latter part of the seventeenth century. From that time on great strides were made in the development of racing as one of the leading forms of American sport. Although both from the standpoint of number of meetings held annually and the locations of these meets, trotting and harness races far surpass the racing of thoroughbreds, public interest for the most part is centered on the latter, due chiefly to the gambling features which for so long have been associated with horse racing. It is because of this aspect of the sport, regarded by many as being definitely unsocial, that horse racing has from time to time been banned from many states during reform administrations. In 1937 horse racing was conducted with legal betting in twenty-one of the forty-eight states. The majority of race meets, attracting by far the greater attendance, were concentrated in the large metropolitan areas of the country; Chicago predominated in the number of meets held and the total number of days of racing offered during the year. A survey of the 1935 racing season brought out that twenty-two million paid attendances were recorded at tracks operating that year. In 1937 this number had increased to more than thirty million. Of this total 1,489,032 admissions were recorded by tracks in New York State and 859,519 in the metropolitan Chicago district.

It is estimated that during this same year, 1937, more than seven hundred million dollars were wagered at the various race tracks in the United States, Mexico and Canada. When to this sum is added the amounts bet at the various bookie establishments throughout the United States for which no accurate approximation is available, a conservative estimate of the amount wagered on the outcome of racing in these three countries places the total at more than two billion dollars.

In 1937 a total of $284,007,996 was wagered in the seventeen states which had the pari-mutuel system of betting. This represented an increase of more than $45,000,000 over the previous year. It should be pointed out that these figures do not include New York State, in which oral or handbook betting is conducted at the tracks.* Twelve state governments received from one to six per cent on each dollar wagered at tracks within their boundaries. In other instances the states profited by daily or annual licenses and from taxes on admissions.

The accompanying table indicates the method of taxing employed in the various states wherein horse racing with betting was conducted in 1937. Comparative figures indicate that in 1937 California led in the amount wagered with $47,976,296, and Illinois was second with $39,842,080, eighty-three per cent of the California total. However, whereas California received $1,919,051 to top the list in the amount that the states derived as their share of the profits of horse racing, the state of Illinois received only $561,312 or less than 29.2 per cent of the California revenue. This can be attributed to the fact that the state of Illinois derives no part of the amount bet, while in California four per cent is deducted from all wagers as the state's share. Had this system been operative in Illinois in preference to the present method whereby the state receives a daily tax from the track operators varying from $1,000 to $2,500, depending upon the location of the track, and twenty cents on all admissions, the state would have derived a total of $1,593,683.20 or $1,032,371.00 more than the amount it actually secured.

Several factors have contributed to the amazing growth in popularity of horse racing during the

*During 1935 New York track bookmakers handled wagers totalling $265,000,000.

past decade. It has already been pointed out that the opportunity to wager on the outcome of the races has been a potent factor in the increased patronage at the race tracks. Attesting to the importance of this gambling element in the sport is the fact, generally admitted, that in the large cities more money is wagered away from the tracks than at the race enclosures themselves.

More stringent regulation on the part of the states has done much to eliminate undesirables from those who control race track operations. In addition, rigid inspection of the thoroughbreds and the licensing of all race stable employees have materially improved the standards of the sport and tended to increase the confidence of the general public in the honesty and integrity of horse racing. The entrance of many of the country's prominent business and social leaders into the sport as stable owners and also as track proprietors has definitely established the social status of horse racing. With the increased patronage reflected in added financial returns to the track operators, it has been possible to provide larger purses and more stake races which bring together the more outstanding winners. These stake races in turn act as magnets to bring out large crowds on Saturdays and special holidays. The increased number of tracks has likewise done much to improve the calibre of racing in the United States and to increase its patronage. Competition among tracks throughout the country for the better classes of horses affords horse owners the opportunity to select the tracks at which they wish to race; consequently, individual proprietors must provide suitable incentives to attract the better horses. During 1937, $1,055,000 was offered in stake races of $5,000 or more for horses three years old and over. A conservative estimate of all purse distributions during 1937 places fifteen million dollars as the amount divided among race horse owners during the year.

With the increased interest in horse racing has come the development of many accommodations for the protection, comfort and convenience of race track patrons. Foremost among these are elaborate pari-mutuel totalizer machines which facilitate the issuance of pari-mutuel or betting tickets, and at the same time indicate on centrally located boards the progressive change in the wagering on all entries in a given race. These electrically operated pari-mutuel machines lock as soon as the horses leave the post or starting point of the race, thus eliminating possibilities of manipulating the wagering after the race has commenced. Another innovation within the past few years has been the use of the camera at the finish to determine photographically the results of close races. In most instances the finished print is posted immediately after the official decision has been announced by the judges, thus affording the spectator an opportunity to verify the placing of the horses. It has been said that no other single item has contributed so much as this camera or "eye in the sky" to establish confidence on the part of the general public in the integrity of racing.

The increased vigilance on the part of veterinarians and employees of state racing commissions, as well as of track officials, has done much to eliminate the illegal artificial stimulation of horses, which had previously discredited horse racing among the general sport-loving public. The assistance of the federal government by enforcing the narcotic laws at race tracks has also been a decided asset in this campaign. Although it has been observed that by far the greater majority of race fans prefer to stand while helping their favorites over the finishing line, all modern race tracks provide large grandstands for the comfort of their patrons. Several operating during the late spring and early fall have gone a step further by enclosing large sections of these grandstands with glass and providing heat during unseasonal weather. Many of the larger tracks, in addition to having adequate provisions for the general public, include special clubhouses to which admission is upon a membership basis. Through the National Association of State Racing Commissioners efforts are being made to establish uniform regulations covering the sport in all states. This body, which includes in its membership representatives from all states wherein racing is conducted, has been instrumental in securing the co-operation of the individual member states to enforce disbarment in all states when an individual member suspends jockeys, trainers and stable owners and others associated with racing for serious infractions of the law or rules of the game. This has tended to eliminate from the racing game those who had

done much to discredit it in the eyes of the general public.

Chicago's first regular established race track was opened in 1844 for harness racing. It was located in the area between Indiana and Vincennes Avenues and Twenty-sixth and Thirty-first Streets. With the opening of the Garden City Race Track in 1854, interest in the sport increased rapidly. In 1864 and 1871, respectively, the Chicago Driving Park Association and the Dexter Driving Association opened tracks for harness racing.[1] The Washington Park Jockey Club established the first track for thoroughbred racing in 1883; Garfield Park Race Track, Harlem, and Hawthorne were all opened during the succeeding two decades, with the result that competition for the better horses and the patronage of Chicago race-goers became quite intense. The activities of the gambling elements of the city during the race meetings so aroused the reform groups that in the years from 1895 until 1900 and again in 1905 the authorities suppressed all betting on races at the tracks. In view of the fact that the majority of the crowds were attracted to the races by the opportunities afforded to wager on the outcome of the various races, the suspension of oral betting led to the closing of the tracks. From 1906 until 1926 none of the race tracks in the Chicago area held meetings. In 1926, however, both the Hawthorne and Aurora tracks were opened. In 1927 the state legislature provided for the regulation and licensing of horse racing in the state, and also approved the pari-mutuel or certificate method of wagering at race tracks. This legalizing of gambling at the tracks provided the impetus whereby horse racing in Illinois was revived to such an extent that almost immediately four new tracks were constructed within a forty-mile radius of the city.

Attendance in 1927, the first year of the renewal of racing in Illinois, totalled 420,295. By 1930 this had increased to 776,510. With the onset of unfavorable economic conditions both attendance and wagering at the race tracks showed a decline during the following years. In 1934, the first year in which racing in Illinois was under the control of the State Racing Commission, the attendance was 580,294. In 1935 it had increased to 857,098, followed by a decline in 1936 to 719,828. Reflecting a continued upturn in business conditions, the total attendance during 1937 was 859,519. For the period from 1934-1937 the annual attendance at Chicago race tracks was divided as follows:

Track	*1934*	*1935*	*1936*	*1937*
Arlington Park	131,380	203,640	186,845	195,978
Aurora	58,506	96,561	77,917	86,355
Hawthorne	123,677	159,125	162,250	171,555
Lincoln Fields	75,217	134,550	70,656	126,688
Sportsman's Park	63,172	104,609	63,576	128,852
Washington Park	128,342	158,613	158,584	150,091
Total	580,294	857,098	719,828	859,519

The Chicago metropolitan area with six race tracks operating within a radius of forty miles of the city has more horse racing than any other similar district in the whole United States. Hawthorne Race Track, originally opened in 1891, is the only race course which survived the two decades of inactivity of racing in Illinois. It was reopened in 1926. The Aurora Race Track was established in 1923 as part of the Kane County fair grounds. Lincoln Fields and Washington Park were constructed in 1926, and Arlington Park was originally opened in 1927. In 1932 a dog race track adjacent to Hawthorne was converted into a half-mile horse race track, and renamed Sportsman's Park. With the exception of Arlington Race Track, which began as an individual promotion and was taken over by a syndicate of the city's leading businessmen and sportsmen, all of the tracks in the district are operated with the profit motive as a major objective. The Arlington Park Club is unique in racing in the United States in that its financial backers or stockholders do not derive any financial return upon their investment, all profits being devoted to improving the physical plant and equipment and in providing purses and stakes to attract the outstanding thoroughbreds to its thirty days of racing each July. Because of this factor the Arlington season overshadows every other July meet in the whole country.

All of these race tracks are easily accessible to Chicagoans by automobile. In addition, the various railroad lines provide especial rates and additional "race trains" during the season at the tracks. The Arlington Park Race Track is located near Arlington Heights, approximately twenty-three miles from downtown Chicago. The oval-shaped

[1]Paul Gilbert and Charles Lee Bryson, *Chicago and Its Makers* (Chicago: Felix Mendelsohn, 1929), p. 153.

track is one and one-eighth mile in length. The seating capacity of the stands is 18,000. Aurora Race Track is situated near Aurora in Kane County, forty-four miles from Chicago's Loop. It has a one mile oval-shaped track, and stands which can accommodate 10,000 spectators. The Hawthorne Race Track is eight miles from the Loop, in Stickney, Illinois, just outside of Chicago's corporate limits. Its track is also one mile in length, and its stands provide seats for 10,000. Lincoln Fields is located at Crete, Illinois, in Will County, thirty-eight miles from downtown Chicago. The track is one and one-sixth miles in length and the seating capacity is divided with 10,000 in the grandstand and 5,000 additional in the club house. Sportsman's Park is situated adjacent to Hawthorne, and has a one-half mile track; the seating capacity is 3,000 in the grandstand and 1,435 in the club house. Washington Park, located at Homewood, Illinois, twenty-three miles from the Loop, provides racing on a one and one-eighth mile track and is equipped to seat a total of 12,000.

The legislation providing for the control and regulation of racing within the state provides that no track may operate for more than sixty days within a year, and also that the season for racing in Illinois must be confined to the six months between May 1 and October 31. The dates are assigned, as provided by statute, by the State Racing Commission after consideration of the requests by the individual track operators. During 1936 and 1937 the six Chicago tracks operated a total of 157 days, with meetings lasting from eighteen to thirty-one days. In each of the four years Arlington has conducted its meeting during the month of July, while Aurora usually opens the season and Sportsman's has the final days of racing in October. The meetings of Hawthorne, Washington Park and Lincoln Fields have varied during this same period: in 1937 Washington Park operated for thirty days from May 24 to June 26, while in 1936 its season extended from September 7 to October 3. In 1936 Hawthorne had the late May and June dates, and in 1937 the Hawthorne Track operated in September.

In general, it may be said that with the exception of the Arlington season in July, which is regarded as one of the foremost race meetings of the year, all of the local tracks encounter stiff opposition from the many other race meetings held throughout the country. Tracks on the eastern seaboard with generally higher purses, and in many instances with highly important stake races, attract many of the better horses which are sent to Chicago only for the Arlington meeting. Recognizing this situation, and in order to encourage better racing in the district, the Racing Commission has formulated a policy whereby the local tracks will provide purses high enough to withstand competition.

All of the race tracks in the Chicago district provide the pari-mutuel type of betting. A ruling of the commission late in 1937 makes it mandatory for all tracks in the 1938 season to have the modern electric totalizers by which mutuel wagers are automatically tabulated. In the 157 days of racing in 1937 a total of $37,305,206 was wagered at the Chicago tracks. This represented an increase of $5,171,442 over the previous year, and more than fifty-two per cent over the 1934 season when a total of $24,535,709 was reached. The average daily attendance during the 1937 season was 5,475, and the average daily amount wagered during the season was $238,250. This approximates $43.50 as the average amount wagered by the spectators. However, it is agreed that a considerable portion of the amount wagered at the race tracks does not represent money bet by those at the track, but can be regarded as "come back" money sent to the tracks by gambling syndicates who maintain telegraphic contact with their representatives. Within recent years the two major telegraphic companies have pursued a policy whereby individuals could telegraph bets to the track representatives of the companies. This further increased the amount of money wagered by those not actually watching the races.

In December, 1937, the City Council of the city of Chicago, both as a means of control of unlicensed gambling within the city and also for deriving revenue, adopted a pari-mutuel brokers' ordinance by means of which the city would license brokers who theoretically at least would forward the money to be bet at the race tracks. As this volume goes to press the legality of the ordinance is being tested in the courts, with indications that the case will be appealed to the Supreme Court

of the State before a final decision is reached. Pending court action, the city has not permitted the new ordinance to become operative, and as a result gambling on horse races is still illegal within the city of Chicago.

In the early part of this chapter it was pointed out that in Illinois the state derives revenue from horse racing from three sources:

1. Each track in the district must pay a daily license fee which for all except Lincoln Fields and Aurora is $2,500, and in the latter cases is $1,500, this lower rate being established because the distance of these tracks from the city of Chicago affects the patronage.

2. A twenty-cent tax is paid to the state on all admission tickets to the tracks.

3. A small annual license fee is assessed against jockeys, trainers and other track employees, primarily for the purpose of regulation and control, but also as a means of revenue.

During 1937 the state derived a total of $515,404 from the track license fees, ticket tax and track employee licenses; the latter item provided only about $5,000.

Race tracks in Illinois must guarantee a minimum of $6,800 in purses and stakes for each day they operate. The purse is usually divided among the first four horses in each race. When the number of entries is insufficient to warrant such a division, the number of places is reduced. The following table indicates the total amount of purses distributed in the state annually since 1927, as well as the total distributed at each track for these years.

It will be observed that the largest total purse was reached in 1930, and that the 1934 total purse was little more than half of the 1930 total. Due to economic conditions the commission has permitted the tracks to operate with daily purses less than that prescribed by law from 1933 to 1937. However, indications are that in 1938 all of the tracks will provide larger sums for their daily purses.

An analysis of the 157 days of racing in Illinois in 1936 reveals a total of 1,249 races. These were divided among the various tracks as follows:

	Number of days	*Number of races*	*Number of winning owners*	*Number of winning horses*	*Total purse distributed*
Arlington Park	30	240	192	461	$378,090
Hawthorne	31	248	181	421	291,300
Washington Park	31	248	245	494	279,780
Lincoln Fields	28	224	217	430	192,415
Aurora	19	145	159	299	107,160
Sportsman's Park	18	144	160	279	98,980
Total	157	1,249			$1,347,725

During the 1936 and 1937 seasons, the most valuable stakes at the Chicago tracks were for the Arlington Futurity at Arlington Park, which paid $36,540 and $36,000, respectively. The following represent the most valuable stakes paid at the Chicago tracks for the 1937 season:[1] Arlington Futurity (Arlington Park, July 31), $36,000; Classic Stakes (Arlington Park, July 24), $27,375; Washington Park Futurity (Washington Park,

[1] *Racing Form Year Book.*

Track	*1927*	*1928*	*1929*	*1930*	*1931*	*1932*
Arlington Park Race Track	$190,455	$467,840	$495,725	$650,745	$667,250	$591,610
Aurora Race Track	255,905	202,600	223,975	130,190	123,400	108,500
Hawthorne Race Track	375,865	470,592	420,875	536,925	543,825	324,545
Lincoln Fields Race Track	418,237	493,680	334,942	334,905	329,980	204,400
Sportsman's Park Race Track	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	179,800
Washington Park Race Track	402,583	.....	376,665	391,110	386,625	321,990
Total	$1,643,045	$1,634,712	$1,852,182	$2,043,875	$2,051,080	$1,730,845

Track	*1933*	*1934*	*1935**	*1936**	*1937**
Arlington Park Race Track	$354,505	$351,160	$386,160	$378,090	$416,450
Aurora Race Track	69,905	87,630	90,670	107,160	106,890
Hawthorne Race Track	259,680	200,290	270,175	291,300	210,415
Lincoln Fields Race Track	187,485	162,000	225,465	192,415	221,275
Sportsman's Park Race Track	136,400	91,500	109,380	98,980	121,200
Washington Park Race Track	241,640	204,595	314,025	279,780	323,355
Total	$1,249,615	$1,097,175	$1,395,875	$1,347,725	$1,399,585

*The 1935-36-37 totals were secured from the Illinois Racing Commission's reports to the governor; all other years from *The Daily Racing Form.*

June 26), $26,135; American Derby (Washington Park, June 19), $25,400; Arlington Lassie Stakes (Arlington Park, July 17), $15,630; Arlington Handicap (Arlington Park, July 31), $15,375; Princess Pat Stakes (Washington Park, June 12), $11,730; Hawthorne Gold Cup Handicap (Hawthorne, September 11), $11,125; Illinois Derby (Aurora, May 22), $9,590; Stars and Stripes Handicap (Arlington Park, July 5), $9,000.

Chicago Stables

Twenty-three Chicagoans were reported as owners of stables which "placed in the money" according to the 1936 *Racing Form Manual.* The Milky Way Farm Stables, owned by Mrs. E. V. Mars, was the largest purse winner in America for the 1936 season by winning $206,450. Two other stables also had their best seasons in the same year, namely, Mrs. Emil Dennemark's, which won $109,050, and the Calumet Farm Stable, owned by Warren Wright, with winnings of $99,675. All of the remaining won in excess of $5,000 each.

The Milky Way Farm Stables have forty-three thoroughbreds, the majority of which are two-year-olds. With one exception, all of the horses contributed to the winnings, which were the largest for the season. Five of the horses finished in fourth place and all others placed first, second or third. The ranking stable finished 68 races in first place, 70 in second and 30 in third place. Reaping Reward was the leading horse of the Milky Way Farms and established a record for the stable by placing first five times and second twice, and winning a total of $59,695.

Illinois Racing Commission

The Illinois Racing Commission consists of three members appointed by the governor, not more than two of whom may be members of the same political party. The terms of office, which are staggered at two-year intervals, are of six years duration. The commissioners receive no compensation for their services; however, all traveling expenses and other costs are provided by the state. The commission's powers and duties are prescribed in detail in the establishing legislation.

This legislation applies specifically to horse racing, and no other manner or method of racing is under the jurisdiction of the Illinois Racing Commission. While the commissioners have no power to determine "who shall be the officers, directors or employees of any licensee," they may require that all officials of any race track concerned with the actual running of the races be approved by the commission. In addition, the law provides that the commission may appoint a steward, director of mutuels, and a veterinarian, who shall act as the representatives of the commission at any race meeting and whose salaries shall be paid by the Race Track Association. The commission is also empowered to discharge any employee who fails to observe the rules and regulations of the commission or "who in the opinion of the commission is guilty of fraud, dishonesty or incompetency." The commission is empowered to establish such means of bookkeeping and accounting as it deems best and may assign the necessary personnel to carry out this provision. The individual track is required to pay the salaries of these individuals to the amount of not more than $1,500 annually.

The law provides further the method of licensing, and indicates that upon conformance to the rules of the commission an applicant shall be granted a license which will permit racing between twelve o'clock noon and seven o'clock in the afternoon during the days allotted, with no racing permitted after hours or on Sundays. No track may be permitted to hold meetings exceeding sixty racing days in the aggregate in any one year nor may any racing association operate more than one track in the state. The commissioners are not permitted to issue licenses to any individual or association in arrears in its financial obligations under the Act, "nor shall any license be issued to any person, association, corporation or trust who shall be deemed by said commission not of sufficient financial integrity and moral responsibility to hold a horse racing meeting conducive to the interests of legitimate racing."

The license fee is provided for as follows:

> The license fee to be paid as provided in this Act by a licensee whose race track or enclosure is located within a county of 250,000 population or more shall be twenty-five hundred dollars ($2500.00) for each and every racing day of each horse racing meeting for which a license shall be granted under the provisions of this Act; and shall be fifteen hundred dollars ($1500.00) for each and every racing day if such race track or enclosure is located within a county of less than 250,000 population and within fifty miles of the corporate limits

of any city in this State having a population of 1,000,000 or more and shall be one thousand dollars ($1,000.00) for each and every racing day if such race track or enclosure is located within a county of less than 250,000 population and more than fifty miles from the corporate limits of any city in this State having a population of 1,000,000 or more. No other license or excise tax or racing fee except as provided in this Act shall be assessed or collected from any such licensee by the State or by any county, township, district, city, town, village or any other body having power to assess or collect a tax or racing fee; nor shall the provisions of section 41 of Article V of "An Act to provide for the incorporation of cities and villages," approved April 10, 1872, and all Acts amendatory thereto, apply to any licensee under this Act.[1]

An additional fee based upon attendance is also levied at all race track meetings in Illinois. The statute on this point reads:

In addition to the license fee herein provided for, there shall be paid to said commission at such time or times as it shall prescribe, the sum of twenty cents (20c) for each person entering the grounds or enclosure of the licensee upon a ticket of admission. If tickets are issued for more than one day then the said sum of twenty cents (20c) shall be paid for each person using such ticket on each day that the same shall be used. *Provided, however,* that no charge shall be made on tickets of admission issued to and in the name of stockholders, directors, officers, agents or employees of the licensee, or to owners, trainers, jockeys and their employees, or to any person or persons entering the grounds or enclosure for the transaction of business in connection with such race meeting. The licensee may, if it desires, collect such amount from each ticket holder in addition to the amount or amounts charged for such ticket of admission.[2]

The fees received by the commission are paid into the State Treasury into what is known as the "agricultural premium fund" which is used for the payment of "prize money or premiums at the state fair and for distribution to county fairs, vocational agriculture section fairs, agricultural societies and agricultural extension clubs."[3] When in the opinion of the director of agriculture there is an excess in these funds "such excess money shall be transferred to and be deemed a part of the state's general revenue funds." Holding meetings without licenses or contrary to other provisions of the Act subjects the violator to fines of not less than five thousand dollars nor more than ten thousand dollars or imprisonment in the county jail for not more than one year or by both such fine or imprisonment. In view of the fact that the gambling aspects of horse racing attract the majority of patrons of the sport, the Act provides that:

Any licensee conducting a horse racing meeting may provide a place or places in the race meeting grounds or enclosure at which he, they or it may conduct and supervise the pari-mutuel or certificate system of wagering by patrons on the horse races conducted by such licensee at such meeting, and such pari-mutuel or certificate method of wagering upon such horse races held at said race track and within such race track and at such horse racing meeting shall not under any circumstances, if conducted under the provisions of this Act, be held or construed to be unlawful, other statutes of the State of Illinois to the contrary notwithstanding.

No other place or method of betting, pool making, wagering or gambling shall be used or permitted by the licensee, nor shall the pari-mutuel or certificate system of wagering be conducted on any races except horse races at the race track where such pari-mutuel or certificate system of wagering is conducted. Each licensee may retain not to exceed six and one-half per centum (6½%) and the breaks as his, their or its commission on the total of all moneys thus wagered: *Provided, however,* that a licensee whose race track or enclosure is located within a county of less than 250,000 population and more than one hundred miles from the corporate limits of any city in this State having a population of 1,000,000 or more, may retain not to exceed eight per centum (8%) and the breaks as his, their or its commission on the total of all moneys thus wagered. Breaks shall be at all times computed on the basis of not to exceed ten cents (10c) on the dollar. No licensee shall knowingly permit any minor to be a patron of the pari-mutuel or certificate system of wagering, conducted or supervised by it.[4]

To enforce the provisions of the pari-mutuel phases of the Act, the commission is empowered to designate a representative to attend each meeting at not more than twenty-five dollars per day, and in the event the commission regards it desirable, several additional representatives may be assigned at the same rate. Because of the fact that certain provisions of the horse racing Act are contrary to existing laws, the Act specifically indicates that these prior laws "shall not apply to pari-mutuel or certificate wagering, in manner and form as provided for by this Act at any horse racing meeting held or conducted by any person, association, trust or corporation having a license for the holding or conducting of such horse racing meeting as provided by this Act."[5] The state racing commission has no jurisdiction over racing at county fairs and state fairs or agricultural and live stock exhibitions where wagering upon the results of the races is not permitted. The co-

[1] *Illinois Revised Statutes,* (Cahill and Moore, 1935), ch. 38, par. 316, sec. 4.
[2] *Ibid.,* sec. 5.
[3] *Ibid.,* sec. 6.
[4] *Ibid.,* sec. 10.
[5] *Ibid.,* sec. 12.

operation of the attorney general and state's attorneys is required by the Act to enforce its provisions, and the governor is empowered to "order the law enforcing officers of the various cities and counties to assign a sufficient number of deputies to prevent horse racing at any track within the respective jurisdictions of such cities and counties, a license for which has been refused, suspended or revoked by the commission."[1] Since the establishment of racing with legal betting in Illinois it has not been necessary for the racing commission to suspend any race track operators in the state. With the exception of a few suspensions of stable owners, trainers and jockeys for varying periods of time, no discordant incidents have been evidenced.

Saddle Horse Riding

Indicative of governmental acceptance of saddle horse riding as a form of recreation are the 16.9 miles of bridle paths located in Chicago's parks, supplemented by an additional 150 miles of trails in the Forest Preserve property in and adjacent to the city. Here, however, governmental activity ends, and the provision of the necessary horse is the responsibility of the individual equestrian. While many of the more affluent of the city's devotees of horsemanship own their mounts, some of which are valued very highly, the greater portion of riding animals on Chicago's bridle paths, particularly those within the city, are rented from commercial stables and riding academies. Even the majority of privately owned horses are boarded at these establishments. Riding academies are not licensed as amusements or recreation establishments but are grouped under the general classification of "livery stables," which includes dray horses. The city ordinances provide that an annual license fee of $100 is required of all such establishments, and that furthermore it is unlawful for horses to be rented to minors under the age of sixteen without the written consent of their parents. Sixteen establishments within the city limits, advertised as riding academies, are located in commercial and industrial districts in the vicinity of the park and Forest Preserve bridle paths. This number is doubled if stables located adjacent to the city are included.

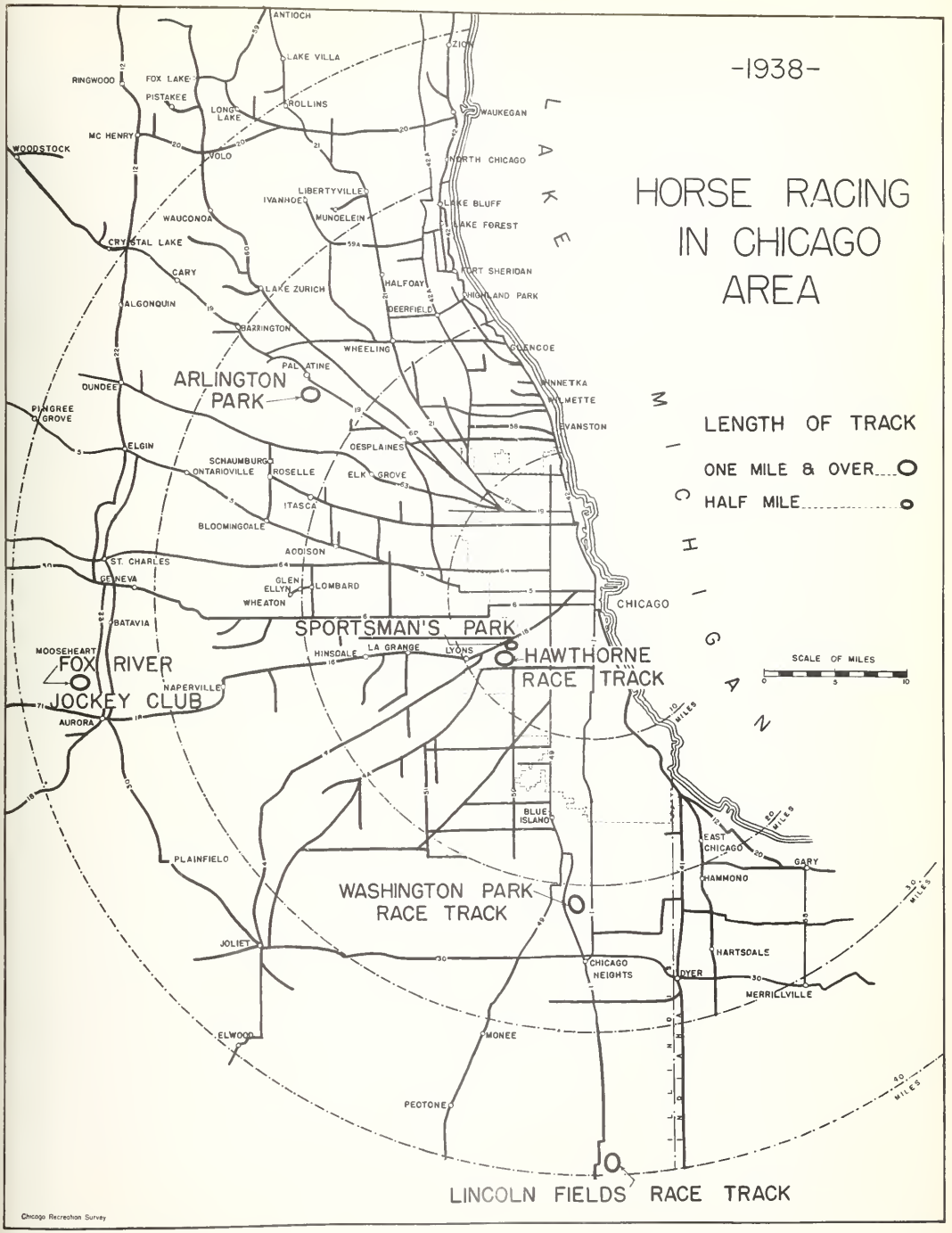
[1] *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Cahill and Moore, 1935), ch. 38, par. 316, sec. 171.

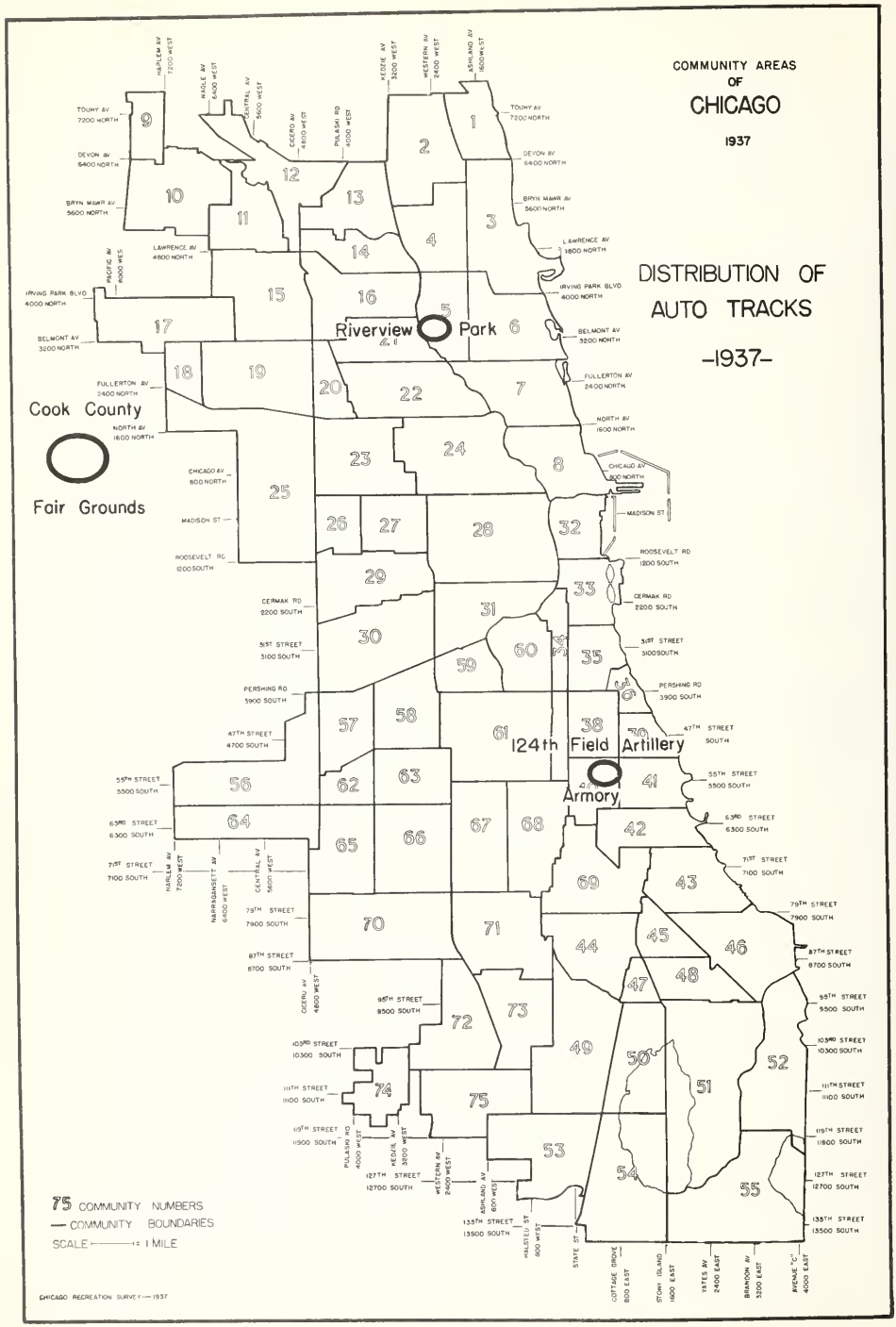
Several establishments in the vicinity of Lincoln Park may be taken as typical. The number of horses ranges from nine to thirty-eight, and the hours of operation are from 7:00 A.M. until as late as 10:00 P.M. Rental rates from a minimum of 50 cents to a maximum of $1.50 per hour are prevalent in most establishments. Several offer special scheduled events, such as Sunday morning rides for $2.00, including breakfast. Moonlight rides are featured during the summer season. Several of the larger academies include indoor arenas or rings which are used both for drill rides and for private lessons. The rates for lessons range from $1.00 per hour to $3.00, the lower rate prevailing for class instruction. No deposit is required; however, on first application, information is requested concerning the prospective renter's residence and business. Horses are not rented to those in civilian attire, and in some instances an attendant accompanies the renter on his first trip, primarily to determine whether he is capable of riding. Season books are sometimes offered at slight discounts, and usually the academy proprietor sells riding accessories and equipment in addition to boarding privately owned horses.

Polo

Until the conversion of the Chicago Riding Academy into the Chicago Arena, this building housed a considerable number of horses of members of the Chicago Riding Club and its arena was the scene of horse shows and indoor polo matches. The stables of the famous Blackhorse troop are still included in this building. This troop is maintained as a regular unit of the Illinois National Guard.

Until recently a limited number of polo games were played each year at several of Chicago's more exclusive country clubs, particularly in the Lake Forest area, more than forty miles from the city. The teams consisted usually of graduates of eastern universities who had learned the game while in college. Because of the cost of polo ponies it was definitely a "rich man's game" and was regarded as a society sport. The international matches with the Argentine players held at Onwentsia in 1933 did much to increase general public interest in the game, as the newspapers devoted considerable space to publicizing the event. Today regular league schedules of polo are offered each


-1938-
HORSE RACING IN CHICAGO AREA
LAKE MICHIGAN
LENGTH OF TRACK
ONE MILE & OVER
HALF MILE
SCALE OF MILES
ANTIOCH
LAKE VILLA
ZION
RINGWOOD
FOX LAKE
PISTAKEE
LONG LAKE
ROLLINS
WAUKEGAN
MC HENRY
WOODSTOCK
VOLO
NORTH CHICAGO
LIBERTYVILLE
IVANHOE
LAKE BLUFF
WAUCONDA
MUNDELEIN
LAKE FOREST
CRYSTAL LAKE
FORT SHERIDAN
CARY
HALFDAY
LAKE ZURICH
HIGHLAND PARK
ALGONQUIN
DEERFIELD
BARRINGTON
WHEELING
GLENCOE
ARLINGTON PARK
PALATINE
WINNETKA
DUNDEE
WILMETTE
PINGREE GROVE
EVANSTON
ELGIN
DESPLAINES
SCHAUMBURG
ONTARIOVILLE
ROSELLE
ELK GROVE
ITASCA
BLOOMINGDALE
ADDISON
ST. CHARLES
GENEVA
GLEN ELLYN
LOMBARD
WHEATON
CHICAGO
BATAVIA
SPORTSMAN'S PARK
MOOSEHEART
FOX RIVER JOCKEY CLUB
HINSDALE
LA GRANGE
LYONS
HAWTHORNE RACE TRACK
NAPERVILLE
AURORA
BLUE ISLAND
EAST CHICAGO
GARY
HAMMOND
PLAINFIELD
WASHINGTON PARK RACE TRACK
JOLIET
HARTSDALE
CHICAGO HEIGHTS
DYER
MERRILLVILLE
ELWOOD
MONEE
PEOTONE
LINCOLN FIELDS RACE TRACK
10 MILES
20 MILES
30 MILES
40 MILES
Chicago Recreation Survey


COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
DISTRIBUTION OF
AUTO TRACKS
-1937-
Riverview Park
Cook County
Fair Grounds
124th Field Artillery
Armory
75 COMMUNITY NUMBERS
— COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES
SCALE ——— = 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY — 1937

summer in several locations easily accessible to the city.

It is the indoor variety of polo, however, which has developed a regular spectator following in Chicago. Until 1936 indoor polo leagues with as many as ten teams offered this sport at the Chicago Riding Club and the 124th Field Artillery Armory. In 1937 both the Metropolitan Junior Indoor League, with seven teams, and the Metropolitan Indoor League, with seven senior teams, played complete schedules from December to April at the 124th Field Artillery Armory. Each Saturday night crowds as large as 6,000 paid admission rates of 50 cents, 75 cents and $1.00. Adding to the interest were intercity contests with Detroit and Cleveland as well as games with leading eastern college teams.

Horse Shows

The annual International Horse Show, held each year at the International Amphitheater, 43d and Halsted Streets, is a regular feature of the International Live Stock Exposition. It is generally regarded as one of the outstanding events of its kind in the whole country, and because leading horsemen from all sections of the United States are in attendance the competition for championships is exceedingly keen. Many prominent business and social leaders of the community patronize this event as it is regarded as one of the highlights of the social season. Capacity crowds attend each of the eight evening and four matinee performances, and frequently overflow audiences witness the final judgings. In 1937 the meet, held in late November and the early part of December, attracted a total attendance of more than 100,000. Admission to the horse show varied from 25 cents to $1.50, in addition to the 50-cent admittance charge to the grounds.

Horse shows are listed in the twelfth class of amusements. The license fee is dependent upon the rate of admission, the maximum fee of $25.00 per day being charged where the highest priced tickets exceed 75 cents, and a minimum of $1.00 per day where the maximum admission charge is ten cents. In the instance of the annual horse show, the license fee for the eight days apparently has been based upon the 50-cent general admission charge to the International Live Stock Show of which it forms a part, and not upon the maximum charge for the tickets to the horse show itself, in which case the total license fee would have been $200.00.

It is sufficiently evident from these facts that despite the enormous vogue of mechanized transportation we do not live in an entirely "horseless age."

CHAPTER X

BICYCLING AND AUTOMOBILE RACING

Bicycling

While two-wheel cycles can be traced back to Egyptian times the bicycle, as it is known today, developed from the rotary-crank-driven velocipede invented in France about 1865. The first steel rim and solid rubber tire conveyance named the "bicycle" was developed in England five years later. For the next two decades the "high wheeler" type of bicycle predominated. However, after the 1893 six-day "bike race" was won by a safety bicycle, as the modern bicycle was then known, this type immediately gained tremendous popularity. Interest in cycling developed rapidly, then declined until 1910 when there was a revival of interest followed by another decline until the early 20's, when the sport was again popular. From 1925 until 1934 activity in bicycling lagged. However, during the three succeeding years the bicycle field became quite active. This was due to some extent at least to advertising which stressed the health aspects of the sport, and to the fact that many Hollywood film stars took up the sport. As a result of the increased interest, bicycle sales soared and the commercial values were further exploited in the establishment of bicycle rental stations in communities throughout the country. The traffic hazard was recognized, and groups interested in cycling activities were instrumental in many instances in having bicycle trails established by local governmental agencies. Another interesting by-product of this renewed interest appears in the cycle train on which the cyclist is permitted to take his bicycle on especially scheduled railroad excursions to districts of particular scenic interest, from which bicycle tours may be conducted throughout the countryside during the day.

With this increased interest in the pleasure aspects of bicycling there has likewise come about a more active support of the various professional phases of the sport. While professional bicycling dates back to the early days when high wheelers were raced for side bets and matched purses, the six-day bike race first established in 1891 has since that date been regarded as the outstanding phase of commercial bicycle racing. Originally the sport was conducted with individual competitors. In 1899 it was reestablished with two-man team entries. Today six-day bike racing is conducted in many large cities throughout the country. Under the auspices of two major sponsoring groups races are held from late fall through March. In view of the fact that the rating of the teams is used as a basis in determining the amount to be paid them during the following season, it may be affirmed that competition is exceedingly keen.

In Chicago bicycling has followed the national trend in its development. During the recent revival of interest in bicycling it is estimated that more than 700,000 Chicagoans took up the sport. At one time dealers of the city reported total sales averaging more than 1,000 machines a week. In addition, bicycle rental stations sprang up in all parts of the city with more than one thousand operating at one time. The rental fees ranged from 25 cents for two hours to 35 cents an hour, depending upon the location in the city. The Illinois Central Railroad introduced the bicycle train on September 27, 1936 by an excursion to the Kankakee River Valley for $2.25. While Chicago has since the inception of the sport followed amateur bicycle racing with racing clubs active in encouraging the sport, it is the commercial six-day bike race which receives the most attention in the columns of the newspapers and from the enthusiastic supporters who follow the sport.

For many years the Coliseum was the site of the annual six-day bike race in Chicago. Since the erection of the Chicago Stadium on the west side, however, that arena has housed the majority of the races. Originally there was only one race each year; however, the support and interest of the public have so encouraged the promoters that during the past few years they have put on both a

November and a March race. Plans had been made early in 1938 by a rival promotional organization to provide a competitive race at the Coliseum in February. The attendance at the Stadium races has on occasion exceeded 75,000 during the six-day period; the November, 1937, races attracted 60,000. To stimulate patronage of the various national groups, individual nights are set aside to honor the foreign contestants. Leading business men and sportsmen of the city often contribute special cash prizes for the various sprint races held at intervals each day. The admission rates vary from 25 cents to $3.30. In many instances special cut-rate tickets have been issued.

Bicycle racing in Chicago is grouped for licensing purposes along with football, hockey, tournaments and athletic contests, in the tenth class. Bicycle racing in itself is not licensed, the owners of the location being assessed upon the seating capacity of the arena. The city ordinance prescribes that one of the powers and duties of the Athletic Commission of the city is to pass upon all licenses for bicycle races. No such exhibitions can be held in the city of Chicago until applications for licenses have been approved by the Superintendent of Police, after being advised by the Athletic Commission.[1]

In 1897 when six-day bicycle racing was still on an individual competitive basis, the state legislature enacted a law designed to protect the health of both competitors and spectators. This statute made it "unlawful for any person, persons or corporation to engage in, take part in, or conduct a bicycle contest, match or race of more than twelve consecutive hours' duration without a rest of six consecutive hours during each twelve hours' racing."[2] With the two-man entry, the practice now being followed is for each contestant to have a four-hour rest period during the day. This is usually provided in the early morning hours while the building is being cleared and cleaned. The state legislature has further empowered the city council to levy a maximum tax of three per cent upon the gross receipts of bicycle races.[3] In recent years, however, this tax provision has not been operative in the city of Chicago.

[1]As indicated in Chapter II of this Volume, according to recent information the provisions of the city ordinance relating to the Athletic Commission were inoperative, although not repealed, during 1937.

[2]*Illinois Revised Statutes,* (Cahill and Moore, 1935), ch. 38, par. 49.

[3]*Ibid.,* ch. 24, par. 65, sec. 41.

Automobile Racing

In the forty-two years from 1895 through 1936 the automobile industry has grown from a total of four registered cars in the United States to 28,221,291; the latter figure represents 70 per cent of the automobiles in the entire world. From 4,192 passenger cars produced in 1900 the total increased by leaps and bounds; it had multiplied more than a thousand fold by 1929, when a maximum of 4,794,898 cars was achieved by manufacturers in the United States. In 1936 after an upturn in business had succeeded five mediocre years in the automotive industry, 3,797,897 cars were manufactured in this country. With one passenger automobile for every four people in the United States today, the recreational significance of the motor car can readily be appreciated. Opportunities for pleasure driving are rapidly being multiplied with the construction of hundreds of thousands of miles of additional state and federal highways. The almost phenomenal growth of the automobile trailer business and the rise of the trailer camp to a definite place in American travel are further indications of how pleasure automobile driving has been stimulated in this country. Notwithstanding a considerable commercial aspect to this form of recreation, the pleasure passenger automobile remains essentially a private recreation device inasmuch as by far the greater majority of these cars are owned by individuals or families. But closely paralleling the development of the automobile for recreational and business purposes came the vogue of automobile racing, which is definitely recognized as a form of commercial recreation. While the motor car was still being classed as a more or less unpredictable toy and before the automobile was established as a recognized means of transportation, various experimental cars, both steam and gasoline-driven, were raced before large crowds attracted by this new form of amusement. In Chicago road racing was prevalent on an established basis in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The famous Indianapolis Speedway, at which is held the annual Memorial Day international 500-mile run, was constructed in 1911. This race has long been accepted as an American sports classic, and draws crowds of more than 150,000. Many of the outstanding improvements in motor cars may be attributed to races such as the Indianapolis event

and others on dirt as well as brick tracks. These races permit new developments in the automobile to be subjected to the most strenuous tests of both speed and endurance.

In 1915, as a result of tremendous interest in automotive racing in the Chicago district, a two-mile wooden track known as the Chicago Speedway was opened on what is now the site of Hines Memorial Hospital. It was at this track in its opening year that sustained speeds of more than one hundred miles per hour were first reached. The inaugural race attracted over 80,000 people to the five-hundred-mile invitation event. Gate receipts totalled more than $400,000 and the purses exceeded $54,000.

The World War which caused a sharp reduction in patronage and took better-known race drivers overseas, resulted in the suspension of such racing operations after the 1918 season. While in those earlier days of automobile racing in Chicago the season was limited to a few summer months, today automobile racing is offered in one form or another throughout the entire year. This is attributed to the rise of what is regarded as a new type of racing, the midget auto race. The term "midget auto races" applies both to the size of the car and the circumference of the track. Frequently these cars with very short wheel bases are powered with outboard motors. Others are equipped with specially developed two- and four-horse-powered motors. Due to the size, the carrying capacity of almost all of these miniature racers is limited to the driver. The tracks on which these cars race vary in size; some of them are less than one-seventh mile in circumference. It is not unusual for these midget cars to exceed seventy miles per hour, so that one can readily appreciate the skill and dexterity required in a midget auto racer. Because of the track dimensions it is possible to conduct midget auto racing in Chicago indoors from fall through spring when the scene of activity shifts to open-air tracks. Interest in midget auto racing has grown steadily in the Chicago area. During 1937 indoor races were conducted under commercial auspices in the 124th Field Artillery Armory, 58th Street and Cottage Grove Avenue. (For details of building see *Chicago Recreation Survey*, Volume I, Chapter XIII.) This dirt track is one-seventh mile in circumference, and frequently the evening's activities are climaxed with a one-hundred lap final race between winners of the various preliminaries. It is not unusual for more than twenty-five drivers to compete on a typical Sunday night, when most of the indoor races are offered. Just as in "big car" racing, many of the midget cars are not the property of the drivers who are employed by the car owners. Cash purses and special prizes reward the winners. Many midget race fans choose favorites whom they follow during the entire season. The admission rates for the 124th Armory races are 75 cents to $1.25 and the total 1937 attendance amounted to more than 40,000.

Outdoor midget racing is very similar to the indoor variety, but complicated by uncertainty of weather conditions. During the 1937 season midget racing was provided in several locations, of which the Riverview Park Track, at Belmont and Western Avenues, may be regarded as typical. In its third year, this track scheduled twenty-five nights of racing, with an average attendance of 1,000 paying 65 cents admission fees. Several prominent radio sports announcers of the city have included this sport in their commentaries, and to this publicity is attributed much of the growth of interest in midget auto racing.

"Regular auto racing" was not offered within the corporate limits of the city during 1937. However, both in 1936 and 1937 a regular schedule of races was provided on the half-mile dirt track of the County Fair Grounds on North Avenue, approximately ten miles west of the Loop. The total attendance during the season, which extended from May 15 to September 30, reached approximately 60,000. The rates were $1.10 and $2.20. Attempts had been made in the previous years to provide auto racing on the Roby Track at the far south end of the city and also on the Lincolnwood Track at Lincoln and Devon Avenues on the north side. During 1937, however, neither of these tracks was operated. While interest in automobile racing seems to be growing, some people entitled to speak with authority through association with this form of sport regard the competition of horse racing with its attendant legal betting as a definite barrier to further and immediate development.

CHAPTER XI

GOLF AND TENNIS

Golf

If one considers the amount of money expended for operating and also the outlay by active participants of the game, it is probably correct to say that golf today represents the country's largest spending market. An inventory of the 5,196 golf courses in the United States in 1937 brought to light a total investment in land, clubhouse equipment and furnishings of more than seven hundred million dollars. The annual cost of golf balls and other player equipment was conservatively placed at fifteen million dollars, and caddy fees at more than forty-two million dollars. More than 90,000 persons were employed during the season, and 700,000 caddies were provided with part-time work. The total amount expended for these labor services has been placed at more than one hundred million dollars annually.

Of the total golf courses in the country operating in 1937, 60 per cent, or 3,135, were nine-hole courses; 1,932 were eighteen-hole; and 129 had more than eighteen holes. About 67 per cent of the total, or to be exact 2,191 nine-hole courses and 1,298 eighteen-hole courses, were private membership clubs owned by the players who patronized the course, with the general public barred. Three hundred and thirty-one eighteen-hole courses and 306 nine-hole courses were municipally owned, operated for the general public and in most instances supported by public funds supplemented by fees of the participants. Six hundred and thirteen nine-hole courses and 457 eighteen-hole courses were privately owned and operated for profit; these were open in most instances to the general public on payment of a fee for each round, or upon a flat per diem rate; rates are also established for the entire season. It should be pointed out that the chief distinguishing features between the municipal course and the daily fee course lie in the ownership and in the primary motive for operation.

According to the *Golfing Magazine* there were in 1937 no less than 1,376,000 golfers in the United States, the term golfer being defined as an individual who plays ten or more rounds a season. Of this number 913,000 were active private club players (members, their families and guests); 260,000 regularly patronized municipal courses, and 203,000 were served by the commercial daily fee courses. It is estimated further that 500,000 individuals could be added to the above totals to include those who are regarded as casual golfers. In the past several years women's activity in golf has increased to the point where more rounds are played by feminine golfers than by men.

Of the more than 65,000,000 rounds of golf played during 1937, the daily fee course accounted for fourteen million, or more than one-fifth of all golf played during the year. One of the particular advantages that the daily fee golfer possesses is the mobility which this method of paying for golf permits him. It is possible for an individual daily fee golfer to play on a large number of different courses during the year.

The first golf club in the Chicago area was incorporated in 1893, with the formation of the Chicago Golf Club. The first course, in no way comparable to the golf course of today, was constructed on a farm in Belmont, twenty miles from Chicago. Chicago's first public golf course was laid out in Jackson Park in April, 1899.

Although golfing records prior to 1910 indicate that the privilege of using courses could be secured on payment of a small fee with season cards issued, it is generally agreed that the first course in the Chicago District which could be regarded as a commercial daily fee course was the Harlem Golf Club constructed in that year on the site of the old Harlem Race Track. This course has continued in operation as a daily fee course ever since that date.

In 1937, forty-four years after the introduction of golf in the district, there were approximately two hundred golf courses within a radius of forty miles of Chicago's Loop. Of this number one hundred and one were classed as private clubs, nine-

teen were controlled by tax-supported agencies, and eighty-two were commercial daily fee courses.

The municipal golf courses in the Chicago area have already been considered in some detail in Volume I of the *Recreation Survey*; and an analysis of private clubs in the Chicago district will be found in the forthcoming Volume III on *Private Recreation.*

Of the eighty-two daily fee courses in the Chicago District, ten are nine-hole courses, sixty-one 18, four 27, and seven 36. Based upon the distance from the Loop area of the city, these and the municipal courses are distributed as follows:

	Daily fee					*Muni cipal*
Radius in miles	*9-hole*	*18-hole*	*27-hole*	*36-hole*	*Total*	
Less than 10 ..	5	4	0	0	9	7
11-20	1	26	1	3	31	7
21-30	0	18	3	3	24	1
31-40	4	13	0	1	18	4
Total	10	61	4	7	82	19

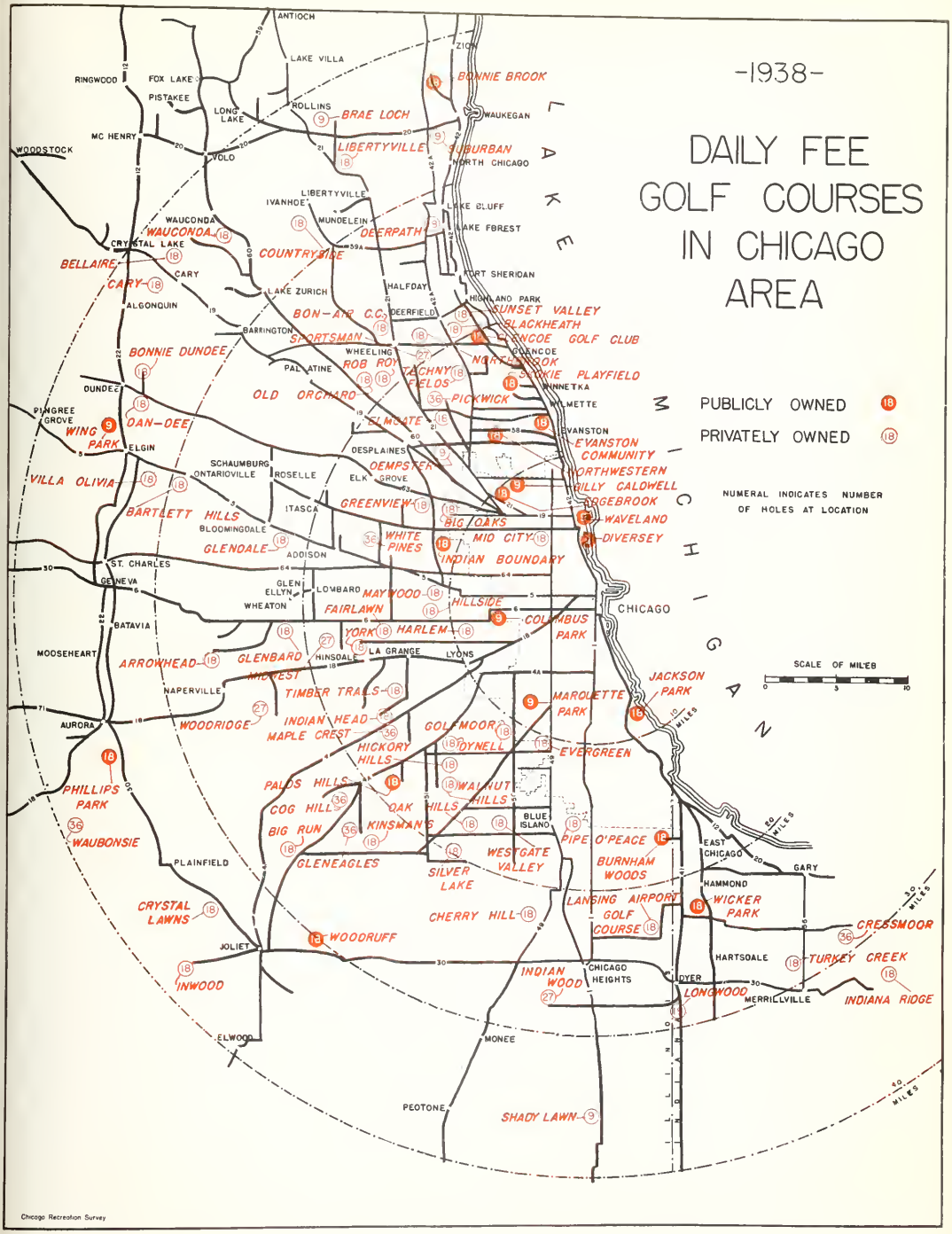
Four of the daily fee courses are located within the corporate limits of the city of Chicago, supplementing the ten public golf courses located in and adjacent to the city. These latter courses, operated by the Chicago Park District and the Cook County Forest Preserve District, are all operated on a fee-charge-per-round basis.

According to Joe G. Davis, secretary of the Chicago District Golf Association since its founding and recognized as an authority on golf in the district, "Chicago and surrounding territory have more facilities for daily fee play than any four cities in the world." Several factors have contributed to this tremendous growth both in the number of daily fee courses and daily fee golfers. Although the governmental agencies providing municipal golf courses have expanded and developed their facilities, it has not been possible for these bodies to increase the number of courses commensurate with the astonishing growth and popularity of golf. Land values within the city limits result in an extremely high cost for the acreage required for an adequate golf course, and there is considerable question as to the justification of devoting hundreds of acres of city park property to golf rather than to other activities which permit vastly larger participation at a considerably less per-capita cost. (During 1937 the Riis Park course and a nine-hole course in Jackson Park were superseded by re-landscaping into general park purposes.) As a result, therefore, public facilities are inadequate to provide for all who wish to play golf, but who either are economically unable to do so or do not wish to join a private club. The patronage at daily fee courses includes individuals from municipal courses and also to a less extent some who are members of private clubs. It should be pointed out, however, that a survey completed in 1937 by the Chicago Park District revealed that more than fifty per cent of all Park District golfers play all of their golf on the municipal courses. This same survey brought out that seventy per cent of the players had never received a golf lesson and that less than half had read anything about how to play golf. Only one per cent of the number included in the study played golf daily, twenty-seven per cent played semi-weekly, and more than fifty per cent played once a week or less. More than seventy-five per cent of these golfers had never competed in a tournament, and the largest number scored between 100 and 110 for eighteen holes. According to age classifications golf seemed to appeal most largely to people between twenty-five and twenty-nine; the group between fifteen and forty comprised most of the participants.[1]

Due to the fact that more than ninety per cent of the daily fee golf courses are located outside the city limits, and that the charge for the use of these courses is somewhat higher than for the municipal golf links, it may be said that in general the economic status of the commercial daily fee golfer, based upon ability to pay, is somewhat higher than that of his fellow daily fee player of the municipal courses. However, it must be admitted that there are many exceptions to this statement.

Within recent years the most stimulating factor in the growth of the daily fee course has been the collapse of many private clubs within the district. The inability of the membership to carry the cost of operation and maintenance, in addition to liquidating the original cost of the property and improvements has had a two-fold result: (1) many private clubs have been reorganized to operate on a daily fee basis; (2) many people who

[1] *Golfdom*, Oct., 1937, p. 52.


-1938-
DAILY FEE GOLF COURSES IN CHICAGO AREA
PUBLICLY OWNED
PRIVATELY OWNED
NUMERAL INDICATES NUMBER OF HOLES AT LOCATION
SCALE OF MILES
LAKE MICHIGAN
ILLINOIS
ANTIOCH
LAKE VILLA
ZION
RINGWOOD
FOX LAKE
PISTAKEE
LONG LAKE
ROLLINS
WAUKEGAN
MC HENRY
WOODSTOCK
VOLO
LIBERTYVILLE
NORTH CHICAGO
IVANHOE
MUNDELEIN
LAKE BLUFF
LAKE FOREST
WAUCONDA
CRYSTAL LAKE
CARY
ALGONQUIN
LAKE ZURICH
HALFDAY
DEERFIELD
HIGHLAND PARK
FORT SHERIDAN
BARRINGTON
WHEELING
PALATINE
WILMETTE
EVANSTON
DUNDEE
PINGREE GROVE
ELGIN
DESPLAINES
SCHAUMBURG
ONTARIOVILLE
ROSELLE
ELK GROVE
ITASCA
BLOOMINGDALE
ADDISON
ST. CHARLES
GENEVA
GLEN ELLYN
LOMBARD
WHEATON
BATAVIA
MOOSEHEART
NAPERVILLE
AURORA
PLAINFIELD
JOLIET
ELWOOD
MONEE
PEOTONE
LA GRANGE
LYONS
HINSDALE
CHICAGO
BLUE ISLAND
CHICAGO HEIGHTS
EAST CHICAGO
GARY
HAMMOND
HARTSDALE
DYER
MERRILLVILLE
BONNIE BROOK
BRAE LOCH
LIBERTYVILLE
SUBURBAN
DEERPATH
COUNTRYSIDE
BELLAIRE
CARY
BON-AIR C.C.
SPORTSMAN
BONNIE DUNDEE
ROB ROY
TACHNY FIELDS
OLD ORCHARD
PICKWICK
SUNSET VALLEY
BLACKHEATH
SKOKIE PLAYFIELD
DAN-DEE
WING PARK
VILLA OLIVIA
BARTLETT HILLS
GREENVIEW
OEMPSTEAD
ELMGATE
GLENDALE
WHITE PINES
BIG OAKS
MID CITY
INDIAN BOUNDARY
DIVERSEY
WAVELAND
RIDGEBROOK
WILLY CALDWELL
NORTHWESTERN
EVANSTON COMMUNITY
MAYWOOD
FAIRLAWN
HILLSIDE
YORK
HARLEM
COLUMBUS PARK
ARROWHEAD
GLENBARD WEST
TIMBER TRAILS
WOODRIDGE
INDIAN HEAD
MAPLE CREST
HICKORY HILLS
GOLFMOOR
DYNELL
MARQUETTE PARK
JACKSON PARK
EVERGREEN
PHILLIPS PARK
WAUBONSIE
PALOS HILLS
COG HILL
OAK HILLS
WALNUT HILLS
BIG RUN
KINSMAN'S
GLENEAGLES
SILVER LAKE
WESTGATE VALLEY
PIPE O'PEACE
BURNHAM WOODS
CRYSTAL LAWNS
WOODRUFF
CHERRY HILL
LANSING AIRPORT GOLF COURSE
WICKER PARK
CRESSMOOR
TURKEY CREEK
INDIANA RIDGE
INWOOD
INDIAN WOOD
LONGWOOD
SHADY LAWN
Chicago Recreation Survey

heretofore were private club members have continued to play their usual game on a daily fee basis. With the upturn in economic conditions during the past few years a reversal of this process is observable, for in several instances daily fee courses have been replaced by clubs of the private membership type.

With a relatively large number of daily fee courses, many of which were originally equipped for private club use, competition for patronage has resulted in the majority of these courses being kept in a condition comparing favorably with many private clubs in the district. Hence the plant and equipment of some of the daily fee courses include well-equipped clubhouses providing locker rooms, professional shops, dining rooms and other adjuncts to the game. In addition, many of the larger and more established daily fee courses are provided with facilities for dinner parties, dancing and other forms of social life. As a result of these special provisions, during recent years many organizations which previously had conducted tournaments and special days for their members at private clubs have availed themselves of the facilities of these fee courses.

Prior to 1930 the week-day load on the average daily fee course was equally distributed from Tuesday through Friday, but with the peaks on the Saturday half-holiday and on Sunday. During the past seven or eight years, however, it has been observed that week-day play has decreased disproportionately; this has forced the course to assume the burden of play on Saturday and Sunday. With the growing acceptance of the five-day business week, Saturday play now covers the entire day rather than merely the afternoon.

It is estimated that during 1937 daily fee golf play increased more than twenty per cent over the preceding year. As a result, the "cut-throat competition" which characterized commercial golf courses in the Chicago area during the previous years was almost entirely eliminated and a more equitable basis was established for rates prevalent among the majority of daily fee courses. While in some instances the rates are based upon one round of golf for the nine or eighteen holes of the course, the general practice now is a flat rate for the entire day. These rates vary with the individual course, and depend in general upon the quality of the course and its accessibility to the city by automobile and by suburban train service. In general, it may be said that the rates vary during the week from fifty cents to one dollar per day, while the Saturday and Sunday fees range from $1.25 to $2.00. Some courses offer special twilight rates for late afternoon and early evening, this charge usually being fifty cents. During 1937 the "two for one" rates offered in previous years were discontinued at most courses.

While the demand for caddy service is not as heavy as at private clubs, most of the daily fee courses in the Chicago district offer such service. At some courses the rate is based upon eighteen holes of golf, in others the charge is upon an hourly basis. Although the fees are not standardized for the district, the amount for caddy service is usually from 75 cents to $1.25 for eighteen holes.

The majority of the daily fee courses located in the Chicago district have added to their staff competent professionals. Until recent years there was a definite hesitancy on the part of qualified professionals to attach themselves to courses of this type. However, the rapid growth in popularity of the daily fee course has removed from golf professionals any stigma from such affiliation, and each year has found an increasing number of the better type of such professionals attached to the daily fee course. Individual instruction is given both to beginners and to those who wish to improve their game. The rates for such lessons vary from $1.50 to $2.00 per half-hour lesson, and from $8.00 to $10.00 for a series of six lessons. Supplementing this individual instruction, several of the courses offer free class lessons. Each summer the *Chicago Tribune* sponsors a series of free classes, which during 1936 were held at several of the large daily fee courses as well as on courses under municipal auspices. Outstanding golfers from private clubs in the district, including national champions, lecture and give demonstrations on the proper techniques of the game. Inasmuch as most of the pupils at these classes are beginners it can be said that this event does much to increase the number of golfers. As yet no large tournament for daily fee golfers has been held in the Chicago district; and one of the chief obstacles to such a contest is the fact that daily fee golfers very often play several courses during the summer. A

number of the daily fee golf courses of the Chicago district are members of the Chicago Daily Fee Golf Association, which was organized to promote the interests of this group.

Driving ranges developed simultaneously with the mushroom-like growth of the midget or "pee-wee golf" courses in 1927. While the popularity of this type of practice course reached its height in the years 1927-29, its value as a means of practice for the correction of faults is still recognized, and during 1937 there were approximately twenty more or less permanent practice fairways within or adjacent to the city. The peak load for such practice is usually reached in the evening after seven o'clock, as most of these locations are floodlighted to provide for night-time use. Golf clubs are furnished free. A bucket of sixty to one hundred balls is provided for fifty cents. At some of the larger driving ranges thirty-five to seventy-five golfers can be accommodated at one time. Most of the driving ranges are conducted by professionals who supplement their income by private instruction. The season usually extends from early April until the middle of October, with the peak attendance during the month of July. The midget golf course, after reaching a maximum of more than one hundred courses in the city was rather short-lived. Most of these courses, both outdoor and indoor, disappeared before the end of 1930. In some instances indoor locations of miniature golf courses were converted into golf schools for winter instruction.

While there are several year-around golf schools within the city of Chicago not affiliated with golf courses, the main appeal of the golf schools located in the business district of the city arises from the opportunity they afford the individual to improve his technique during the winter season when actual play on the course is suspended. Many of the larger and better established private social clubs within the city, including the Union League, Standard, Lake Shore, University, Medinah, Covenant, Illinois Women's, Illinois Athletic Association, the Catholic Women's Club and the Y.W.C.A. have golf schools with professional instruction. In general, it may be said that instruction at these locations is limited to members or guests of the club. Until recently several of the large department stores of the city offered professional instruction. This service, however, has been discontinued.

Privately-owned indoor golf schools, open to the general public for fees ranging upward from one dollar per half-hour, are also located in the Loop and outlying business districts. In some instances the payment of a twenty-five dollar fee entitles the individual golfer to the use of the school's facilities for the entire fall and winter season, from October 15 to April 1.

Tennis

Supplementing the tennis courts under the control of public agencies and those owned by private groups are a small number of daily fee courts. The rapid increase in the installation and improvement of public courts is no doubt responsible for the fact that only a few commercial courts are operated. Approximately ten such locations may be found, including several indoor courts. Several tennis facilities of this type are operated by professionals; reliable information concerning the others is not available. All the indoor facilities are operated by professionals.

The fee for commercial tennis ranges from 25 cents to $1.00 per person per hour. The hourly rate for each player is 25 cents at three locations; 50 cents at two; one charges 50 cents daily before 4:00 P.M. and $1.00 until closing and for Saturday and Sunday play. The charge at another is 30 cents per hour for singles and 40 cents an hour for doubles. One is operated as a combination club and daily charge court; members pay $16.00 per season and the hourly fee to the public is 50 cents. Commercial courts equipped with lighting facilities are popular with people unable to play tennis during the day. Special inducements are offered students for daytime play at some courts.

Indoor facilities for the playing of tennis are provided at the 202d Coast Anti-Aircraft Armory, 5917 Broadway; the 108th Combat Engineers Armory, 3401 Wentworth Avenue; and the 131st Infantry Armory, 1546 South Michigan Avenue. Each is in charge of a professional. Playing is permitted generally from 8:00 A.M. until 7:00 P.M. The rates for public play vary from 50 cents an hour per person to 80 cents an hour for singles and $1.20 an hour for doubles. Lessons given by

the professionals cost from $1.00 to $2.50 for a half-hour period.

For many years outstanding matches between the country's leading amateur players have attracted large crowds. For several years Chicago has been the scene of several of these events, usually held at one of the more prominent private tennis clubs. With the growth of interest in tennis from both the participant and spectator standpoint, the commercial possibilities of competition between the country's leading players have been recognized; hence today teams of former world champions and Davis Cup players travel throughout the country giving exhibition matches. The inclusion of such players as "Bill" Tilden, Ellsworth Vines and Fred Perry among the professionals has done much to elevate the calibre of professional tennis and to draw patronage wherever the stars compete. In Chicago matches have been held at the Chicago Stadium, International Amphitheatre and Patten Gymnasium during the winter months, and occasionally a summer exhibition by these professionals is provided at one of the larger local clubs. It has been frequently claimed that professional tennis in the United States has done much to stimulate interest in tennis as a sport and has tended to improve the calibre of the play of the average tennis enthusiast. However that may be, professional tennis continues to grow in favor.

Table Tennis

The past decade has seen the revival of ping-pong or table tennis which was one of the popular games of the late Victorian era. The game of ping-pong as played today, however, little resembles the fashionable society game of forty years ago. It is now one of the fastest and most scientific of indoor sports, and is played in thousands of homes throughout the country and in many college gymnasiums and private clubs. Each year competition for the national championships is exceedingly keen, and international rivalry culminates in the annual world's championship usually held abroad. As yet the United States representatives have never emerged as winners in this competition.

Because the cost of equipment for ping-pong or table tennis is comparatively slight, the game has developed as a popular form of private recreation. For this reason commercial establishments providing facilities for table tennis have never achieved the popularity of other commercial indoor sports establishments. There are, however, a number of ping-pong parlors located in Chicago's Loop and in some of the outlying business sections of the city. In two Loop establishments the number of tables were two and nine, respectively; the smaller establishment reported an average daily play of twenty individuals; the other had a daily average of one hundred and fifty. The normal schedule of operation is from 10:00 A.M. until 11:00 P.M. or midnight. Rates vary up to a maximum of seventy cents per hour for the use of the table, paddles and ping-pong balls, with special rates for parties and tournaments. While the game is played by people in all age groups, young people of school age and couples in their thirties predominate. Because of the interest in the game ping-pong exhibitions by several of the nation's outstanding men and women stars have been offered at various times as features of night-club floor shows in several of the larger Loop hotels.

CHAPTER XII

ICE SPORTS AND ROLLER-SKATING RINKS

Ice Sports

General

Until recent years ice skating and ice hockey were dependent almost entirely upon weather conditions suitable to producing naturally the frozen surface which they require. As a result, these sports were highly limited both geographically and seasonally. Most activities were, therefore, confined to the two winter months of January and February; and the sports thrived in Canada and the far northern portions of the United States where games and tournaments could be scheduled with a reasonable degree of assurance that the required ice would be available. However, tremendous strides in the production of artificial ice have largely eliminated this uncertain factor; as a result ice sports, and hockey in particular, have been established as lucrative commercial recreation attractions. Whereas formerly the ice-hockey season was generally limited to a few months, today hockey is played from November through March in large arenas with specially equipped ice plants throughout Canada and the northern part of the United States. The extent to which the production of artificial ice for sports has developed can best be appreciated by the fact that in 1938 plans were under way for the production of a tremendous ice show out of doors in Miami, Florida. With the recognition by commercial interests of the opportunities offered by ice sports public interest has soared, as evidenced by the tremendous crowds witnessing major hockey events, and the thousands who take advantage of the indoor artificial ice for pleasure skating of one kind or another.

Probably the greatest single impetus ever given to any one sport was bestowed upon ice activities by the motion pictures featuring the Olympic women's figure-skating champion, Sonja Henie. Through these pictures thousands of people who had heretofore been almost completely unaware of skating and other ice sports have become enthusiastic followers of ice skating. Capitalizing upon this obvious interest, and to further encourage interest in ice activities, stupendous ice shows featuring the world's greatest performers surrounded by ice ballets, pageantry and other artifices of showmanship have for the past three years toured the country playing to packed houses wherever arenas were large enough to accommodate the performances. In New York, Chicago and Boston sellout crowds of from sixteen to twenty thousand have witnessed each performance, with the runs extended to accommodate all who wished to attend.

Ice hockey is generally regarded as a Canadian sport, although the game originated in northern England. The first official Canadian rules were established in 1877, and from that date on records indicate league play during the months of January and February each year. For many years ice hockey was strictly an amateur sport; the first twenty years of competition for the Stanley Cup, emblematic of world championship, were restricted to amateur competition. In 1913 the rules were revised, and since that date the competition has been mainly confined to professional teams.

While there are many small leagues throughout Canada, major interest in professional hockey in the United States and Canada is centered in the National Hockey League, established in 1917. Originally this league was composed only of Canadian teams, but during 1937 Boston, New York, Detroit and Chicago were in the competition and Montreal and Toronto were the only Canadian cities represented. Two cities, Montreal and New York, have two teams each in the league. The American Hockey Association provides professional hockey in six cities in the United States: Minneapolis, St. Paul, Tulsa, Wichita, St. Louis, and Kansas City. On the west coast Seattle, Spokane, Vancouver and Portland engage in professional competition in the Pacific Coast Hockey League. While amateur leagues have operated for more than sixty years throughout Canada, with the exception of competition in the Ivy League of col-

leges in New England and in several less-renowned university and collegiate associations in the northeastern states and by several of the northern universities in the Western Intercollegiate Conference, ice hockey in the United States is just beginning to be recognized as a scholastic and intercollegiate sport. The University of Illinois and the University of Michigan are among institutions which now have artificial ice rinks. Because of the comparative inactivity in the United States it is logical that by far the greater majority of professional hockey players in competition today are Canadian, or of Canadian extraction. However, with the increased interest in the sport in this country followers of the game predict that within the next decade players born and trained in the United States will be found among the outstanding stars of the game.

Chicago

Three of the major indoor arenas within the city of Chicago have facilities and equipment for ice-skating activities: the Chicago Stadium, 1800 West Madison Street; the Coliseum, Wabash Avenue at Sixteenth Street; and the Chicago Arena, 333 East Erie Street. Two of these, the Chicago Stadium and the Arena, have regularly scheduled hockey matches. The ice plant of the Coliseum is not used except for an occasional ice show. The major function of the Chicago Arena during the winter season is to provide public ice skating.

Ice Hockey

Chicago is represented in the National Hockey League by the Blackhawks, whose home games are scheduled at the Chicago Stadium. For several years Chicago was also represented in the American Hockey League by the Shamrocks; the franchise of this team, however, was removed from the city after the 1933 season. During the hockey season, which extends from November to April, the Blackhawks play forty-eight games of which twenty-four are played at home. At the end of the regular season play-offs between the three leading teams in each division of the league culminate in the championship series for the Stanley Cup. During the eleven years of the Blackhawks' existence, the Chicago team has won the trophy only once. Although it cannot be said that the Blackhawk team is one of the better teams in the league, during several recent years attendance at the Stadium games has been almost phenomenal. Clear indication of the fact that hockey fans in Chicago are devotees of the sport rather than followers of a winning team, is that patronage at hockey games has not been seriously affected by the lowly standing of the Chicago team in the league. It is suggested that in no other city in the National Hockey League nor in any other major commercial sport does such a situation exist. During the 1936-7 season a total of more than two hundred thousand spectators witnessed the Blackhawks' home games. As a further index of the high social position which hockey has attained in Chicago, officials point to the number of regular patrons of opera in Chicago who also are season box holders at the hockey games.

For several years past many of the games at the Stadium have been broadcast in part through WGN. This means of advertising is to some extent at least responsible for the continued growth in interest in the sport. In addition, the sports columns of the Chicago papers allot considerable space to professional hockey. This increased interest cannot be ascribed to any cheapness in prices, for the admission charges for professional hockey in Chicago range from seventy-five cents to $2.50.

Over a period of ten years efforts were made spasmodically to enlarge interest in playing the game by promotion of amateur hockey in Chicago. At one time the Coliseum ice was used for these games, and during several seasons the Catholic Youth Organization sponsored amateur ice hockey at the Chicago Stadium on Sunday afternoons. The failure of this type of hockey to develop was attributed to several factors:

1. The quality of amateur hockey was considered inferior; as a result the attendance was insufficient to pay expenses.
2. The teams in many instances were sponsored by commercial and industrial establishments which, in order to be adequately represented, recruited outstanding players from Canadian leagues and provided nominal employment for them outside, thus defeating the amateur spirit.
3. The financial inducements for competent coaches were inadequate.

Through the co-operation of the professional hockey interests of the city, the Chicago Arena has

established during the 1937-8 season the Arena Hockey League, consisting of four teams. The object of this League is to promote amateur hockey for Chicago's better players, and one of the requirements toward this end is that all players be amateurs and full-time residents of Chicago and vicinity. These teams compete on Sunday afternoons with a forty-cent admission charge to the general public. The average attendance during the first trial months has been about two thousand. Indicative of the sound basis upon which the League is being developed is the fact that its president and general director is one of the former leading professional players of the Blackhawk team. Officials of the league allege that a considerable portion of the receipts is being expended in the development of the organization. One of the goals which the sponsors of professional hockey in the city hope to attain is the establishment of the first team to be composed entirely of players born and trained in this country. The progress of the Arena amateur league is therefore being observed by this group with keen interest.

Social Skating

Outdoor skating in the Chicago district is an unpredictable quantity. Although each year large playgrounds and vacant lots throughout the city are flooded by the Fire Department to supplement the lagoons in the various parks throughout the city, the variable weather conditions usually prevalent in Chicago frequently limit outdoor skating to a total of less than thirty days over the months of December, January, February and March. It has been said that winters are becoming milder, and that therefore there is every reason to believe that the number of days cold enough for skating will not consistently be more than Chicago has enjoyed in the past. This may be mere meteorological folklore; nevertheless a definite trend of opinion is observable toward the provision of large indoor artificial links for public skating. The Chicago Arena at the present time affords the only regular indoor skating arena in the city of Chicago. While it is now engaged in its first full season, and therefore has not reached its maximum use, it is significant that the daily average of skaters has been more than six hundred. The rink, which is the largest indoor artificial rink in the Middle West, measures 85x250 feet, and is open to the public from 2:30 to 5:00 P.M. four days a week, and every evening from 8:30 to 11:00. A fee of fifty-five cents is charged. Supplementing the general public usage is the private club session of the Chicago Figure Skating Club and special instruction given by the club professional.

Ice Carnivals

The ice carnival is a comparatively new development in winter indoor sport attractions. The *Chicago Daily News*, however, sponsored outdoor Mardi gras skating events as far back as 1925. These annual shows, usually held on the Garfield Park Lagoon, have attracted crowds varying from 5,000 in subzero weather to 50,000 when weather conditions were more favorable. In 1931 this annual event was transferred to the artificial ice of the Chicago Stadium, where it attracted capacity crowds. In April, 1934 the first great theatrical ice extravaganza, featuring the Olympic champion Sonja Henie, was played to a capacity house. The amazing popularity of this type of performance led to the establishment of other skating troupes, and each year several of these ice carnivals have been held in Chicago. In 1937, 137,080 people paid $206,480 to attend the eight performances of the Hollywood Ice Revue, which was built around Miss Henie. In the early part of December of the same year the Chicago Arena was the site of another ice carnival which included among its performers European and Olympic champions. Also scheduled at the Arena during 1938 is the Seventh Annual Carnival of the Figure Skating Club held in February; the admission charges for this event range from seventy-five cents to $2.50.

Skiing

Skiing was introduced into the United States in 1840 from Norway. By 1880 interest in the sport had reached the point where local clubs were organized to further it. Skiing in the United States is now governed by the National Ski Association, which is divided into six geographical divisions, with a total membership of more than one hundred clubs. While for many years contestants in ski tournaments were divided into professional and amateur classes, in 1922 the professional classification was eliminated. Essentially, skiing is a private enterprise, the commercial aspects being centered mostly upon the equipment and the winter

resort business maintained through it. However, the major ski-jumping tournaments are regarded as major sport attractions, drawing thousands to the steel and wood slides located throughout the country. Usually an admission fee is charged for spectators at such meets.

During 1937 interest in skiing in the United States reached a new high. Newspapers, recognizing the interest, devoted columns to instruction; sports apparel shops established sections devoted to winter sportswear suitable for skiing; and enthusiasts of the sport flocked to the various winter resorts where snow was available. This trend was so marked that many of the larger railroads in the country put on regularly scheduled ski trains on weekends during the season. Even the radio and comic strips feature this popular sport.

Skiing is divided into two major classifications: cross-country skiing and jumping. The cross-country variety is that favored by all except experts. Ski jumping is a hazardous sport in which proficiency is acquired only by constant practice. The amount which the individual may invest in cross-country skiing depends entirely upon his purse. The cost of an outfit ranges from five dollars to as high as two hundred and fifty dollars.

One of the outstanding ski events during recent years in the United States has been the annual *Chicago Daily Times* winter sports meet. The site of this event, usually held in February, is Soldier Field on Chicago's lake front, a distinctly unique setting for a ski tournament. The slide is constructed on top of the Arena, and for the 1938 meet extended upwards 168 feet, the equivalent of an eighteen-story building. During the first meet in 1936 a total of 18,000 attended; during 1937 this was increased to 50,000. One hundred and twenty-five participants are entered in the competition. The Olympic champions from Norway, as well as outstanding ski jumpers from all over the United States, are entered in this meet. The admission charge is $1.10 for adults and forty cents for children. Among the other larger annual tournaments is that held by the Norge Ski Club of Chicago at its Cary, Illinois slide at which an attendance of from 10,000 to 50,000 is recorded. The Forest Preserve District likewise held an annual tournament, but recently this has been discontinued.

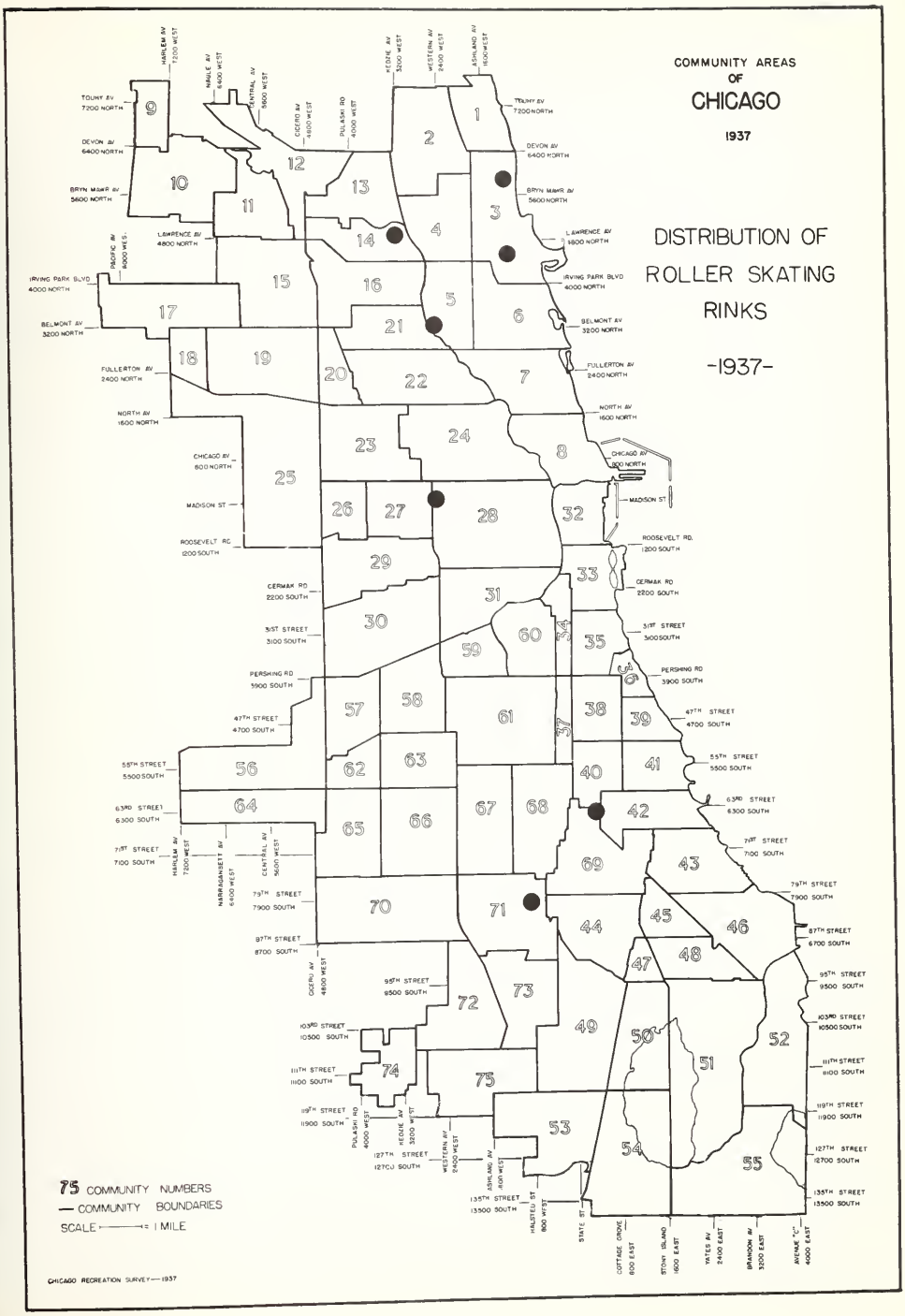
By importing carloads of snow from Northern Wisconsin, sponsors of the various ski meets in the Chicago District ensure their meets against postponement due to unfavorable weather conditions in this vicinity. It is difficult to estimate the total cost of conducting ski tournaments; however, the expense of erecting the Soldier Field ski slide for the *Daily Times* tournament is estimated at more than $25,000. It will be observed, therefore, that ski tournaments are not conducted primarily with the profit motive in mind, and that except in so far as an admission fee is charged they cannot properly be regarded as commercial recreation attractions in Chicago. However, it should be pointed out that one of the primary purposes of newspaper-promoted tournaments is to further good will among the paper's readers and to stimulate circulation. This can scarcely be construed otherwise than as a commercial objective; therefore the *Daily Times* Ski Tournament viewed in this light is listed and included here as a commercial recreation enterprise.

Roller-Skating Rinks

Roller skating has long been a popular form of recreation, both for the thousands of school children who each year return to the sport even before the last snow has disappeared, and for an increasing number of adults who have found that skating provides both healthful exercise and amusement. The interest of this latter group has promoted and developed the commercial roller skating rink. Today this type of amusement center is distributed quite generally throughout the country, many small communities having combination dance hall-roller rinks. At these rinks, which very closely resemble some dance halls, there is ordinarily music of one kind or another, usually records or, to a rapidly increasing degree, the electric organ. Skating follows the common pattern of dancing to a certain extent, in that some skate individually, others in couples.

In Chicago roller-skating rinks are licensed as ninth-class amusements along with ice-skating arenas. The annual fee is $200; however, when the roller skating is conducted at a location which is licensed in some other classification, at a higher rate, no special license fee is assessed for roller skating.

During 1937 there were five establishments licensed specifically in the ninth class as roller-skating rinks. In addition, there were several locations having licenses for other types of amusement which also provided roller skating. In general roller-skating rinks are located in business districts of the city, all being situated on car-line routes. The two amusement parks of the city, Riverview and White City, both have large rinks. The Riverview Rink has a capacity of 1,500 skaters, while White City accommodates 1,000. The Madison Gardens Rink, located at 2560 West Madison Street, has an area 265 feet by 100 feet, and is reputed to be the oldest roller rink in the United States. Roller skating is provided at the 202d Coast Anti-Aircraft Artillery Armory, 5875 Broadway, several evenings each week, and also on Saturday and Sunday afternoons. The Armory floor is reputedly the world's largest indoor roller-skating surface. These rinks can be regarded as typical of the larger halls. The matinee rate is customarily 25 cents, but in some instances only 15 cents is exacted from children. In the evening the normal charge is 40 cents for adults. No encouragement is given to the attendance of children at the evening sessions. At all of the rinks skates are furnished free and waltzing is taught without charge. Special contests in this type of skating and in racing are conducted occasionally at the larger rinks. Special rates are accorded to private parties, and exclusive use of the rink is given on occasion.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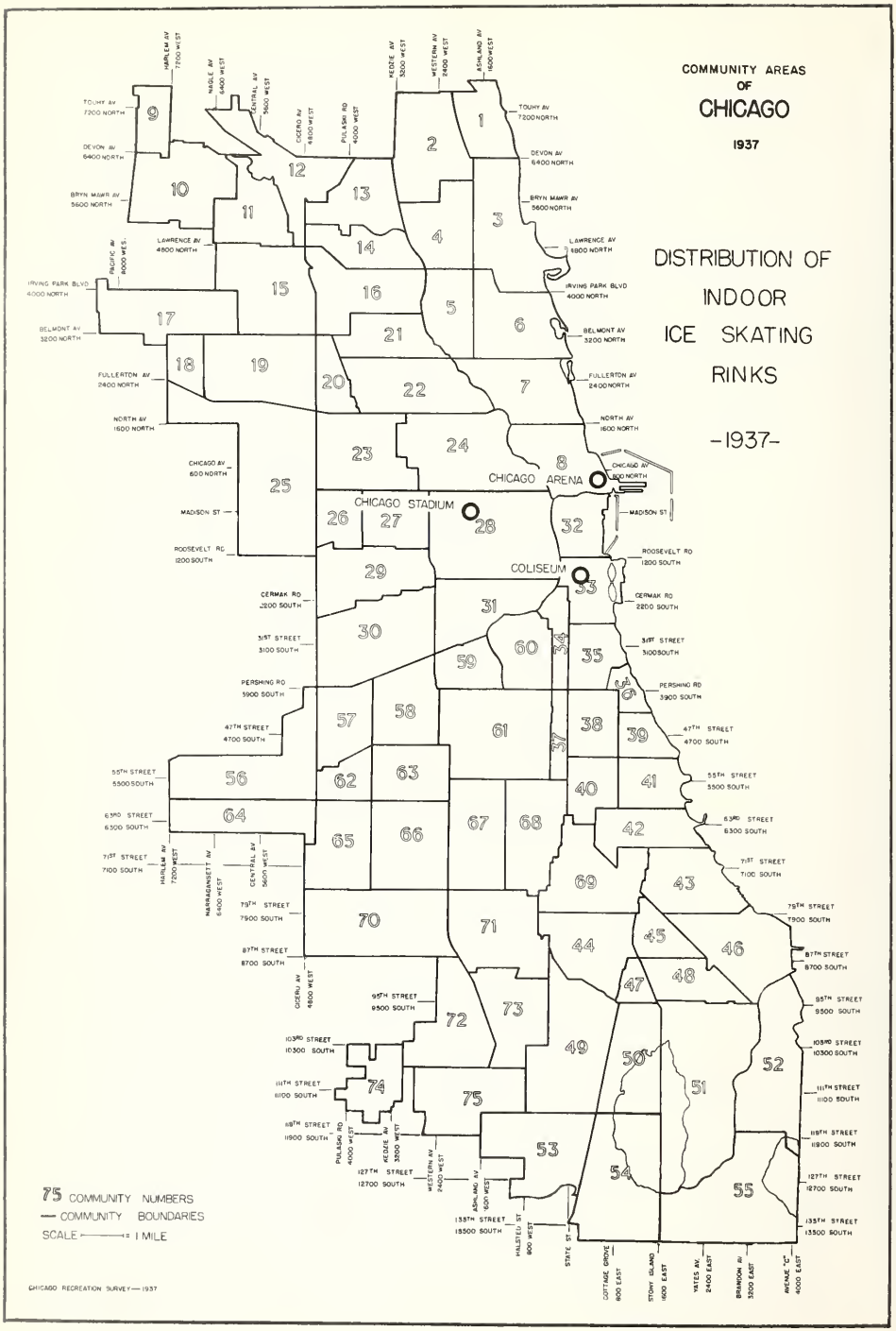
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CHAPTER XIII

MISCELLANEOUS RECREATION: RENTAL LIBRARIES, SIGHT-SEEING TOURS, OBSERVATORIES, AIR SIGHT-SEEING FLIGHTS, EXCURSIONS, ANNUAL SHOWS, CONVENTIONS

Rental Libraries

Reading has long been one of the more popular forms of individual recreation, and along with "'ritin' and 'rithmetic" is embodied as one of the fundamentals of educational systems throughout the world. It is generally recognized that reading as such belongs inherently in the field of *private recreation* rather than *public* or *commercial.* It was pointed out in Volume I of this Survey that the modern American public library aims to provide mass opportunities for self-education and recreational reading, and that the annual number of books read per capita in the United States was 3.67 per person. In 1935, however, more than 36.7 per cent of the population of the United States were without public library provisions of any kind.

It is generally agreed among book publishers that the circulation of books through public libraries acts only to supplement the more essential permanent commercial distribution achieved through sales to the individual reader or consumer. It is upon this latter fact that the success of any writer usually depends, because his income is based upon royalties which are largely determined by public acceptance through book purchases. There has long been a controversy among representative reader groups, publishers and writers regarding what is frequently referred to as the "high cost of books." H. G. Wells, in a recent radio address during which he was permitted to talk on any subject, devoted his entire fifteen-minute period to the high cost of books and to correspondingly high postal rates. He pointed out that the average wage earner is greatly handicapped by the fixing of what he claimed could be regarded as disproportionately high charges for good books, and he insisted further that the lowering of the cost to the reader would probably result in a much wider distribution, even necessitating additional editions. He indicated further that inasmuch as reading was regarded as one of the foremost means of education it would be highly consistent both for book publishers to attempt wider circulation through reduced costs and for the government to assist by reducing the postal rates on printed matter.

That the purchasing of books is usually beyond the means of the greater part of the population is indicated by the fact that the 3.67 books distributed through public libraries to each individual in the United States during 1935 had a bookshop value of more than $7.00. Newspaper advertising, reviews and the reputation of the author, are all contributing factors in determining the best sellers. Although aware of the fact that the general reading public has a marked preference for books which are commonly established as best sellers, because of shrinking public funds within recent years many libraries were unable to stock their shelves with the popular books of the day to accommodate thousands of potential readers. For this reason, and also because fewer people were able to buy high-priced popular fiction and non-fiction, the past five years have given a tremendous impetus to the commercial circulating rental library. To compensate partially for its inability to provide enough best sellers the Chicago Public Library maintains a self-supporting circulating rental library in the Central Building, with rates comparable to those of commercial establishments.

For a considerable time rental libraries of one kind or another have been in existence, but neither numerically nor in their use had they reached the significance they have attained today. In the early history of the circulating rental library the clien-

tele was generally more interested in special types of reading such as sex books, particularly those verging toward the risque, wild west and detective stories. The circulation trend today in the rental library field, however, reflects a definite increasing interest in the better popular books, particularly the best seller groups of fiction and non-fiction. It is reasonable to assume that the widespread and continuous publicity of "book of the month clubs," and the Literary Guild have played a part in effecting this change.

In Chicago at the present time, it is estimated that there are between 3,000 and 4,000 locations at which books may be rented. These are distributed among bookshops, drug stores, hotels, social agencies, barber shops, and, according to recent reports, are even included in some grocery and delicatessen stores. More than 50 per cent of the city's 3,000 drug stores have rental library book shelves. If each rental library is regarded as a separate and distinct establishment, it may be said that the rental library today is one of the most widespread forms of commercial amusement agency in the city of Chicago. In view of the fact that rental libraries are established primarily with the profit motive in mind, it should be pointed out that usually the decision regarding the inclusion or exclusion of books on their shelves is determined by the requests and general reading interests of the prospective patronage. Ninety per cent of the rental libraries in the city of Chicago are controlled by thirty rental library corporations or syndicates, of which seventeen control the major portion of the business. Rental libraries are established at an individual location usually upon a percentage basis arranged with the store proprietor.

According to officials of one of the largest circulating libraries in the city, having more than 500 locations, a typical rental library contains approximately 140 books with at least an equal number of individual monthly patrons. In many establishments no deposit is required to take out books from the rental library; in some instances, however, a maximum deposit of $1.00 is exacted. At other locations the name and address of two references listed in the telephone directory are accepted as a basis for borrowing books. The rates for borrowing vary from ten cents for three days, with an additional three cents for each day thereafter, to fifteen cents for three days and five cents per day thereafter. Frequently a distinction is made between books which retail for less than $2.50 and those for which the price is above that figure. In order to provide for the constantly changing demand for books, stocks on the shelves are changed at frequent intervals. An analysis of the circulation of several of the larger establishments reveals that 19 out of 24 best sellers were among the most popular books rented during a given period. Of these Dale Carnegie's *How to Win Friends* had the lowest retail price, $1.96, and *America's Sixty Families* was quoted at book stores at $3.75. The books most in demand included such general works as *The Importance of Living*, *Madame Curie*, Wolcott's *Second Reader* and *Transgressors in the Tropics;* and such best sellers in fiction as *The Citadel*, *The Rains Came*, *Northwest Passage*, *Prodigal Parents*, *Imperial City*, *Serenade*, *Tale of Bali*, *Turning Wheels*, *Winter in April*, and *Katrina*. The demand for specific types of books varies throughout the city much in the same manner as at the Chicago Public Library. The average number of days for which the books were kept was approximately five days. Thus for less than 25 cents in each instance it was possible for the renter to read books which ordinarily were unavailable at the public library except on the same basis, or could be bought only at an average retail price of approximately $2.75, or he could enjoy reading ten books for the purchase price of one.

There are no city ordinances dealing with this type of commercial recreation nor is any business license required for their operation. The type of license under which the establishments in which they are located operate depends entirely upon the major function of the business. While there are no state statutes dealing directly with circulating libraries, operators are governed by the various sections of the Criminal Code relating to obscene and other prohibited publications which provide that:

"Whoever brings, or causes to be brought into this State, for sale or exhibition, or shall sell or offer to sell, or shall give away or offer to give away, or have in his possession, with or without intent to sell or give away, any obscene and indecent book, pamphlet, paper, drawing, lithograph, engraving, daguerreotype, photograph,

stereoscopic picture, model, cast, instrument or article of indecent or immoral use, or shall advertise the same for sale, or write or cause to be written, or print or cause to be printed, any circular, hand-bill, card, book, pamphlet, advertisement or notice of any kind, or shall give information orally, stating when, how, or of whom, or by what means any of the said indecent and obscene articles and things hereinbefore mentioned can be purchased or otherwise obtained, or shall manufacture, draw and expose, or draw with intent to sell, or to have sold, or print any such articles, shall be confined in the county jail not more than six months or be fined not less than $100 nor more than $1,000 for each offense—one-half of said fine to be paid to the informer upon whose evidence the person so offending shall be convicted, and one-half to the school fund of the county in which the said conviction is obtained."[1]

Neither police records nor reports of agencies concerned with juvenile protection and anti-vice organizations indicate any significant problems associated with the operation of commercial rental libraries. The lack of any juvenile problem can be attributed to the fact that children frequent the public library to a greater extent than the general population; hence there is no particular demand by this group for books through rental libraries.

Sight-Seeing Tours

One of the characteristic phenomena of large metropolitan cities is the lack of community spirit mere bigness prevents. Chicago is regarded by sociologists as a city of seventy-five distinct communities, each of which possesses its own particular traits and has, to some extent at least, its own cultural, social and economic interests. It is generally admitted that in certain areas of the city where the mobility of population is significant, comparatively few people are actually familiar with the surroundings of the individual district in which they reside. It is not strange, therefore, that Chicagoans in general are not appreciative of many of the more outstanding agencies and institutions for which it has become nationally and even internationally renowned. For example, it has been estimated that not more than one out of every five Chicago residents has ever been through the International Stockyards. On the other hand, it can be stated with some assurance that more than half of the visitors to Chicago who are here more than seven days avail themselves of the opportunity of seeing one of the world's largest industries in action.

Recognizing the fact that visitors to the city are interested in its outstanding attractions in various fields, the business of sight-seeing buses is directed primarily to attract this group. Partly due to the general apathy on the part of Chicagoans, and to some extent at least because commercial sight-seeing tours have been established primarily for the out-of-towner, the greater percentage of all commercial sight-seeing patronage in the city of Chicago is made up of guests at the various hotels in the city who are gathered here because of business, conventions, or, not inconceivably, pleasure-seeking. Practically all of the tours in the city either originate or pick up passengers en route at the larger hotels in the Loop district. In 1937 there were three major commercial sight-seeing agencies: the Greyline, which operates in almost all of the larger cities of the country, the Chicago Sight-seeing Company, and the Blue Line Sight-seeing Motor Tours Company. In addition, buses of the Chicago Motor Coach Company are frequently chartered for sight-seeing purposes. The rates for tours which vary in length from two to seven hours are from one to five dollars. The most varied and the greater number of tours under one company provide eight different routes from complete all-day expense tours, including major business, cultural and recreational attractions, with luncheon included, at five dollars, down to a two-and-one-half-hour trip through Chinatown and the settlement and national group areas for one dollar. All of the advertising literature of these various companies points out the commodious features of the buses and the excellent lecture service provided. In connection with certain tours the statement is emphasized that "It is perfectly safe for ladies without escorts to make this tour; no stops on this tour are made at any point serving intoxicating liquors." It has not been possible in this study to secure any reliable estimate of the amount of patronage of these commercial tours. However, it is a matter of common observation that during the summer months they derive considerable support. In the fall and winter, schedules are revised and some tours elimi-

[1] *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Cahill and Moore, 1935), ch. 38, par. 455, sec. 223.

nated completely, while the number of others is reduced as patronage decreases.

Supplementing these commercial tours and with an amazing popularity among Chicago residents for whom they were particularly designed, are the educational tours provided by the Works Progress Administration in co-operation with the Board of Education of the city of Chicago. More than 1,200 individual tours have been conducted since April, 1935, of which 678 were open to the general public and 610 were arranged specially for various religious, educational and social groups. An average attendance of 143 persons was included at the public tours. In a report by Charles H. Good, supervisor of the tours, it is pointed out that the trips to the various nationality areas of the city were extremely popular and that such commercial agencies as the LaSalle Street financial district, the Municipal Airport and the Stockyards always attracted large groups. In conjunction with the Art Division of the Works Progress Administration, 66 tours through the Art Institute galleries were conducted with an attendance of more than 3,000. Similarly, new tours were developed to stress other particular artistic, educational and industrial resources in Chicago. With the co-operation of the Board of Education, the tours are also being used to indicate to high-school graduates opportunities for vocational education and future industrial employment. No charges are made for these tours, except where there is an admission fee to an individual attraction. In view of the fact that in general they provide a more concentrated and intensive study of Chicago than the majority of short-time visitors to the city can devote to tours, it is suggested that in the main they cannot be regarded as competing with the commercial tour interests in Chicago.

Observatories

With the early development of the skyscraper in Chicago, particularly when the competition for the honor of being the tallest building in the city, with consequent fame and renown, was exceedingly keen, many included observatories among their "features." These were established for the purpose of advertising and also to enable Chicagoans and visitors to the city to view the panorama of Chicagoland from "the tallest tower this side of the Alleghenies." For many years varying numbers of observatories have been opened to the public in the large Loop district buildings. In the 1933-1934 World's Fair years the erection of the "skyride" with its observation platforms at the top of each tower offered visitors to the city increased opportunities for seeing Chicago from the air. Several millions paid the twenty-five cent admission fee to these towers.

During 1937 there were four regularly operated observatories in Chicago, each of which had a twenty-five cent admission charge. The highest in the city "now the highest observatory west of New York," is situated 524 feet above ground in the Chicago Board of Trade Building. This observatory has a wide gallery more than 300 feet long, which in winter is glass-enclosed and steam-heated. The guest register indicates visitors from every state in the Union and almost every country on the globe. While the visibility at any observation tower is determined largely by daily atmospheric conditions, operators of the Board of Trade Observatory claim that on a clear day Milwaukee, 86 miles from the city, can be seen very easily. This observatory is open from 10:00 A.M. until 9:00 P.M. daily. The Tribune Tower Observatory, 462 feet high, and the Wrigley Building Observatory, 466 feet above the river, are both open from 9:00 A.M. until 5:00 P.M., and claim a visibility of more than 60 miles on clear days. The Medinah Athletic Club Tower, 471 feet above the street level, is usually open during the summer months only. In the instance of the Board of Trade Building Observatory and Tribune Tower, it may be said that frequently visits to the observatories are made by many individuals attracted to the building by other interesting features.

In order to encourage observatory attendance, the educational values are stressed and special rates have been established for student groups. To provide an additional incentive for these student groups prizes are sometimes offered for the best description of the city as seen from the observatory. In general, it may be said that the major portion of attendance at the various observatories in the city is composed of out-of-town visitors and special organized groups.

Air Sight-Seeing Flights

The large air-conditioned tri-motored passenger plane of today is a far cry from the open cockpit single-motored airship associated with the early days of aviation. With the development of safer and more comfortable planes public acceptance of flying as a mode of transportation has also progressed. It has not been so many years since the days of barnstorming pilots who rented fields along the highways adjacent to the city and called them "airports." Particularly on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays they reaped financial harvests by taking passengers on short flights of fifteen minutes or less. Among other factors, novelty and thrill as well as a certain appeal to the "daredevil" were responsible for the public interest. Because of the lack of regulation these flights often ended in fatal crashes.

The remarkable records of safety established by airlines within the past few years have eliminated to a great degree the mental hazards of early commercial flying. That air transportation is now accepted as reasonably safe is clear from the fact that during 1937 leading surety companies of the country decided that airline travel was no more hazardous than railroad travel. As a result, trip insurance policies on airlines are now written at the same rates as for surface carriers.

The extent to which transcontinental and intercity airplane travel is recreational cannot be determined definitely. Many vacationists have used this method of transportation to resort lands, thus adding days to their enjoyment. Through air travel the "weekend vacationist" now commutes in a few hours to resorts which formerly required more than a day.

Today's definitely recreational flying in the city of Chicago is devoted largely to flights over the city and adjacent territory in large modern ships which compare favorably with many planes in transcontinental service. During 1936,[1] 3,245 flights at the Municipal Airport were listed specifically as local sight-seeing; 16,471 passengers were included in these trips. In addition, it is pointed out that the 13,081 flight arrivals in the miscellaneous classification probably included some flights very similar to those listed as local sight-seeing. In 1937 the number of local sight-seeing flights had increased to 4,456, more than thirty-seven per cent, with a commensurate increase in the total number of passengers. The charge for this type of sight-seeing trip ranges upward from $2.50, depending entirely upon the length of the trip and the accommodations. Several of the more popular tours are offered under the auspices of an airline tour bureau. This organization reports that the patronage of its flights has doubled during the past year. In addition to trips from the Municipal Airport, similar sight-seeing excursions are provided from eight other airports in the Chicago district. When the demand is sufficient, regularly scheduled sight-seeing trips are offered at some of the airports. According to city planners and others particularly interested in the ecological aspects of metropolitan areas, studying the community from the air is regarded as the most satisfactory means of getting perspective and larger relationships, inasmuch as it is possible to view considerable areas at one time and thus integrate specific districts to the city as a whole. Accordingly, on many occasions, particularly during the summer months, classes of from 50 to 100 students are taken on specially chartered air sight-seeing trips with significant items pointed out by the instructor during the progress of the trip; somewhat less frequently similarly chartered sight-seeing flights are also undertaken by women's groups and various other civic groups in the city.

Within the past decade Chicago has been the scene of several outstanding aeronautical events. For a number of years Curtiss-Reynolds Airport and Sky Harbor, both northwest of the city, were annually the scene of notable air events. In 1930 the tenth Annual National Air Races were held at Curtiss-Reynolds Airport and in a period of less than two weeks more than 400,000 spectators paid admission. Chicago was also the scene of several of the more prominent endurance flights in which planes were re-fueled in the air for weeks. At that time interest was tremendous, the broadcasts emanating from the plane and newspaper publicity drawing thousands to the airports each day. However, now that the novelty of flying has worn off, the commercial recreation aspects of Chicago aviation are more or less concentrated in the sight-seeing tours and also in private and class instruc-

[1] *Chicago Recreation Survey*, I, 244.

tion. The first International Air Show finished a ten-day run at the International Amphitheatre at which more than 100,000 spectators witnessed outstanding recent developments in the aviation industry.

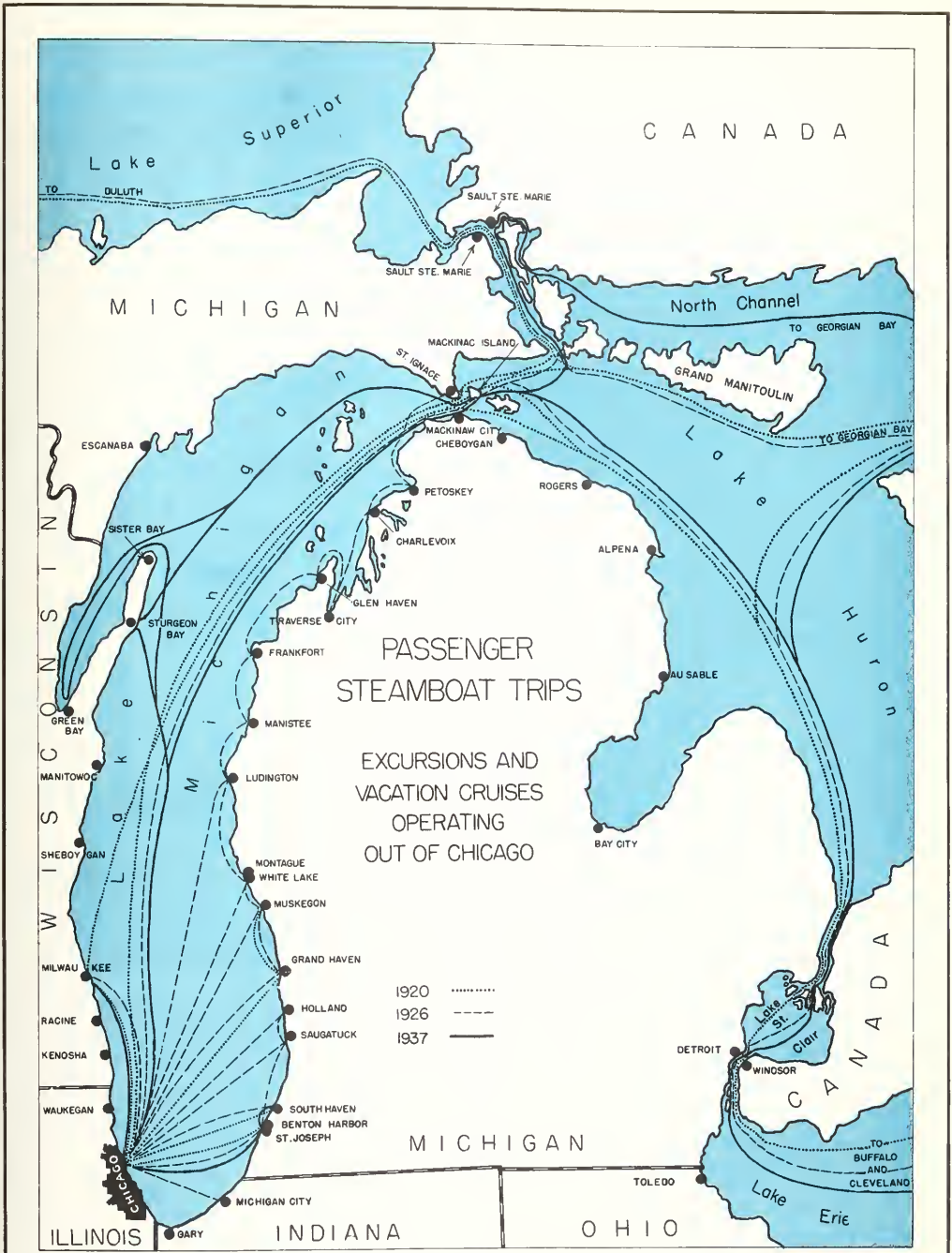
Excursions

In the first chapter of this volume it was pointed out that travel and transportation constitute a considerable percentage of recreation expenditures in the United States. It was further suggested that the line of demarcation between pleasure travel and business travel is in most instances very difficult to place. Particularly is this true in the railroad and bus industry. In its early years the same could have been said about passenger steamship travel in the Chicago district. However, with the encroachment of the private passenger automobile and more recently the passenger bus lines, by far the greater percentage of existing lake travel out of Chicago can be regarded as being pleasure or recreation, particularly as much of the travel by water to lake resorts failed to survive competition with other means of transport.

Until the erection of the Municipal Pier, now known as Navy Pier, most of the lake passenger service used the docks which lined both sides of the mouth of the Chicago River. It was not unusual during the boom days of passenger steamship business in Chicago for side-wheelers to leave the harbor at fifteen-minute intervals during the morning bound for such points as Michigan City, Benton Harbor, South Haven, Muskegon and other comparatively near lake ports on the Michigan side of the lake, or for excursions to Milwaukee and other Wisconsin ports. The Graham and Morton Lines, the Goodrich Steamship Company and the Michigan Transit Corporation were all quite active in this period. In 1926, when the Goodrich Steamship Company dominated the excursion field, each day during the season the Chicagoan seeking an all-day lake excursion had a choice of five or six boats which sailed in the morning for Milwaukee, Michigan City, Benton Harbor, South Haven and Holland. Because of the encroachment of the automobile and bus lines, together with the loss in freight revenues diverted largely to the trucking industry (which in particular absorbed the shipping of the Southern Michigan fruit harvest formerly a profitable source of income to the boat interests), the number of excursions decreased; and in the years following the market crash of 1929 many of the lines, including the large Goodrich interests, were forced into bankruptcy. During 1937 there were only two regular excursions, one the SS. "City of Grand Rapids" trip to Milwaukee, and the other the SS. "Roosevelt" excursion to Benton Harbor and South Haven. Commencing with the World's Fair years of 1933 and 1934, both of these lines during their comparatively short season from the middle of June until Labor Day have proved quite popular, and appear to be profitable ventures. It should be pointed out that a large number of people who take these trips having never been on a boat before are attracted by the novelty. Supplementing these daytime trips are moonlight excursions lasting several hours each evening. These trips "to nowhere" as they are sometimes known, include dancing and other entertainment features.

The day rates vary from $1.75 to $2.50, the latter figure being in force on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays. The evening trips on the SS. "Grand Rapids" cost fifty cents and on the SS. "Roosevelt" seventy-five cents. A considerable portion of the daytime patronage consists of children's outings varying from Boy Scout to settlement groups. In the evening and occasionally during the week, large organizations frequently include these trips in their social programs.

Several small steamers operate from Navy Pier to Lincoln Park and around the harbor each season, with a usual rate of twenty-five cents per passenger for these short excursions during the season, which begins in May and ends the early part of September. Although these boats are also subject to inspection, it cannot be said that they are completely safe and seaworthy in rough weather. In 1927, for example, one of these boats, the "Favorite," sank in the harbor with a loss of 27 lives. Many small boats also operate in Chicago Harbor between the Pier and various government breakwaters. These are patronized chiefly by amateur fishermen. The rates are usually twenty-five cents a round trip. During the summer season, pleasure speedboat trips are offered from the Michigan Avenue Bridge, with a charge of fifty cents per passenger. These same boats also serve



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as transportation for commuters to the various railroad stations on the west side of the Loop.

In a somewhat different category are the major lake ships which provide vacation cruises from Chicago to Mackinac Island at the northern extremity of the lake, and to Detroit, Cleveland and Buffalo. The cost of these all-expense trips ranges to eighty dollars for a week cruise to Buffalo and return. While they are used to some extent by people who are interested in transportation to the cities included in the cruises, these trips attract large numbers as vacation recreation. Three steamship companies operate cruises of this type out of Chicago, the Georgian Bay Line, the Detroit and Cleveland Navigation Company and the Cleveland and Buffalo Transit Company. Various forms of active recreation are provided and hostesses are employed to provide social entertainment. Like the excursion steamers the cruise ships are equipped with bars and gambling devices of various types.

The large excursion and cruise ships out of Chicago are regularly inspected by the Federal Bureau of Navigation and must meet rigid requirements on equipment. Since the sinking of the "Eastland" in the Chicago River in 1914, with a loss of more than eight hundred lives, there has been no major disaster involving large passenger steamships in the Chicago area.

It is generally agreed that the shortness of the season and the loss of freight revenues are definite barriers to the revival of pleasure passenger ships on Lake Michigan and that unless some compensating factor arises for these items, recreation on boat excursions will probably decline as the ships in present use become obsolete and unsafe.

Conventions and Annual Shows

Chicago is widely advertised and generously promoted as a convention city. Recreation has a definite relationship to conventions; for it is a rare convention which does not set aside a part of its program for recreational activities, either for the entire assembly, or to permit individual delegates free time to be used as they may choose; frequently time is provided for both. By those upon whom the responsibility falls for choosing a convention city several factors are considered. Among these are accessibility of the city, meeting quarters for the business of the convention, hotel facilities, and the opportunities offered for occupying the leisure time of delegates and their families.

It is said that sixty million people reside within one night's ride of Chicago. Transportation facilities into the city are good, whether by train, plane, bus or private car. Business activity, the rialto and night life are centered in the Loop. Large hotels in the very heart of the city's attractions provide more than seventeen thousand guest rooms. The total hotel capacity of the city could probably accommodate four hundred thousand guests every day.

Because the element of recreation is present in all convention plans, the report of the Convention Bureau of the Chicago Association of Commerce is here included. During 1937, seven hundred and ninety conventions and special shows were held in Chicago to which the attendance totalled nearly a million. In this estimate are included all admissions to certain annual expositions or to shows attended largely by Chicagoans. However, no means of distinguishing between out-of-town and local attendance are obtainable. During 1933, the first year of the Century of Progress, a maximum of 1,527 conventions were scheduled, and these were attended by 2,320,741 people. The bureau report for the thirteen years from 1925 through 1937 lists 10,981 conventions with 13,874,318 delegates. The record presented in the following table indicates not general attendance but presumably delegates only:

Year	*Number of conventions*	*Delegates in attendance*
1925	769	659,408
1926	718	1,632,902
1927	780	1,028,320
1928	824	1,135,380
1929	845	1,335,435
1930	811	1,041,103
1931	767	738,440
1932	694	458,795
1933	1,527	2,320,741
1934	812	534,145
1935	823	712,800
1936	821	1,282,484
1937	790	994,365
	10,981	13,874,318

Most conventions are held in hotels of the Loop district. It is estimated that they provide

1,800 meeting rooms, with accommodations for groups of from 25 to 3,000 people. Convention meetings requiring larger seating capacities can be held either in the Auditorium or the Chicago Civic Opera House. The exceptionally large convention or trade show is usually held in the Chicago Stadium, the Coliseum, the International Amphitheatre or at the Navy Pier. Weather permitting, Soldier Field may even be utilized. The accompanying chart entitled "Chicago's Convention Hall Facilities at a Glance" summarizes many of these facts. More general information concerning these facilities is distributed through other chapters of this Volume. Five armories are also available to outside organizations, namely, the 132d Infantry Armory, the 108th Combat Engineers Armory, the 131st Infantry Armory, the 202d Coast Anti-Aircraft Armory and the 124th Field Artillery Armory; their seating accommodations range from 1,000 to 16,000.

The 1937 convention schedule included 81 conventions definitely related in some manner to recreation. Numbered in this count were, first, shows or expositions to which the public was welcome; second, conferences of groups directly or indirectly associated with recreation such as baseball, football or golf associations, the Izaak Walton League of America, or National Boys and Girls 4-H Clubs; third, meetings or conventions of commercial groups associated with moving pictures and radio; fourth, other commercial meetings, expositions, etc., related to recreation equipment, including wholesale toys, sporting goods, games, music, etc. Twenty-three of the aforementioned conventions were national in scope, and fifty-eight were sectional or local.

The expositions and shows open to the public during 1937 included: National Outdoor Life Exposition, Chicago National Boat and Sports Show, International Travel Exposition, Women's Pageant of Progress, Garden Club of Illinois (Annual Flower Show), National Home and Garden Exposition, Beresford Cat Club (Exhibit), Chicago Kennel Show, Western Specialty Clubs Association Dog Show, International Live Stock Exposition, Mid-West Poultry Exposition, Food and Beverage Fair and Household Exposition, Chicago Automobile Show, Fourteenth Annual Motor Salon, Illinois Automotive Association, Chicago Exposition of Power and Mechanical Engineering, Chicago Rotary Business Show, National Business Show and Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs (Fund Festival). A complete report of such annual recreational programs would include circuses, rodeos, six-day bike races, ice carnivals, benefits, newspaper-sponsored events, etc., events which are reviewed in considerable detail in other chapters of this Volume.

CHICAGO'S CONVENTION HALL FACILITIES AT A GLANCE

	INTERNAT'L AMPHITHEATRE	STADIUM	NAVY PIER	COLISEUM
Gross square foot area for exhibits	255,000 sq ft	35,525 sq ft. plus foyers	1,085,000 sq. ft.	92,000 sq. ft.
Rental cost per net square foot	On application	Rental determines	On application	
Services included in rent	Rental determines	Rental determines	Rental determines	Heat & light of bldg. only
Floor load	First, unlimited Second, 150 lbs. to sq ft.	Arena, 500 lbs. Ends of arena, 150 lbs E. & W. entrances to Arena, 120 lbs. Balance, 100 lbs.	100 lbs.	150 lbs. to unlimited
Kind of floor	Concrete	Concrete	Concrete	Wood, 20,000 sq. ft. Concrete, 72,000 sq ft.
Ceiling height	1st floor, 16 ft 2nd floor, 22 ft Arena, 87 ft	117 ft.	24 ft. under trusses	16 ft. to 90 ft
Kind of ventilation	Natural & forced air	Washed air	Natural	Natural & artificial
Dimensions of door openings to exhibition hall	14 ft high, 16 ft wide	22 ft. wide, 26 ft high	50 ft.	12x12'—16' high, 18 ft wide
Number of elevators (if two floors)	Two			One
Elevator capacity	8,000 lbs.		Accessible by ramps	10,000 lbs.
Dimensions of elevator	21 ft by 10 ft by 8 ft			8 ft. by 15 ft.
Current available A. C., K. W available D. C., K. W available	Any capacity	Any capacity	1000 K. W	Any capacity
Columns, dimensions	2 ft. in diameter			
Space between span	1st floor, 25½' x 26' 2nd floor, 26' x 52'		67' wall to wall	Will send floor plan
Utilities available Gas Water Drain Compressed air Steam Telephone	 Yes Yes Yes Yes Yes Yes	 Yes Yes Yes Yes Yes Yes	 Yes Yes	 Yes Yes Yes Yes Yes
Location of utilities in relation to hall	Therein	Adjacent	Intervals of 40' along walls	Therein
Liability insurance Rider to building policy	No. Exhibitor takes out own insurance	Yes		
Railroad siding to unloading platform	Yes			
Unloading facilities	At the bldg. a belt railroad	150' vacant at each end of bldg. & ramp to basement	Direct	Direct
Amount storage space for crates Location to exhibition hall	Ample At building	Ample Below	100,000 sq. ft. Below and adjoining	Ample Basement of annex
Booth equipment Size Height	Yes Any length Eight feet	Yes		Yes Any height desired
Floor plans available	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Photo or sketch of booth equipment available	Yes			Yes
Number of meeting rooms Seating capacity of each	Six 500—600—375	Several 200 to 500. Space for building additional rooms	None at present	Coliseum, 12,000, N. Hall, 4,000, Ballroom, 1,000
Location of meeting rooms to exhibition hall	In and connecting with building	Adjacent		
Public address system in exhibition hall In meeting rooms	Yes In main amphitheatre	Yes Can be installed at cost plus		Yes
When exhibition hall not used for exhibits it may be used for auditorium Seating capacity	Yes 12,000	Yes 20,000		Yes 12,000
Parking facilities	15 acres devoted to free parking space for 4,000 cars, additional space to accommodate 3,000	150 ft. vacant at each end of bldg.	10,000 cars	Good
Distance of building from business district	3½ miles	1½ miles	1½ miles	1 mile

CHAPTER XIV

RADIO

By 1920, thirty-six years after Marconi had begun his first experiments on the wireless, such progress had been made that the presidential election returns of that year were broadcast by voice instead of "dots and dashes" over station KDKA. The listening audience comprised a relatively small number of amateur wireless enthusiasts. From such humble beginnings radio has now attained the position of the most widely prevalent form of entertainment and the favorite recreational choice of millions in every civilized country. In 1937 there were seventy million receiving sets in use. Because of universal appeal and the further fact that international borders set no barriers to this form of communication, radio has also become one of the foremost means of international culture diffusion and propaganda. Indeed, largely because of this latter fact several European nations have on occasion provided imprisonment for inhabitants who listened in on programs originating in certain foreign nations. In many countries, including England, the radio listener is required to obtain a license for the privilege of enjoying this type of entertainment; in others radio broadcasting has become a governmental monopoly, and in all European countries radio programs have been subject to more or less strict censorship or outright governmental control.

In 1937 there were seven hundred radio broadcasting stations in the United States located in four hundred and sixty communities. Of these all except eighty-eight were in existence prior to 1930. Most of the larger stations gravitate naturally to cities of half a million or over. About one-third of all stations have located in cities of over two hundred thousand; another third, in towns of twenty-five thousand and under. Except for those smaller communities which are centers of important market areas, towns of less than ten thousand persons find it difficult to support stations providing high quality programs.

In the early days of radio, telephone lines were employed to broadcast events away from the radio studio; today by this same means large national, sectional and regional chains are permanently linked to broadcast the same programs over the entire country. The largest of these chains are the National Broadcasting Company with 143 owned or affiliated stations, Columbia Broadcasting Company with 111 stations, and in recent years the rapidly growing Mutual Broadcasting System with a total of 79 stations. These major networks are supplemented by many smaller groups of stations in individual sections of the country.

Broadcasting stations in the United States are licensed by the Federal Communications Commission. Unlike other countries, the interest of the federal government in radio to date has concerned itself less with programs than with the engineering phases of radio and the hours which individual stations may broadcast. The only requirements, besides conforming to the allocated wave length and not exceeding the maximum wattage permitted, are that each station announce its call letters at frequent intervals and keep an operating log of all the programs it broadcasts.

In the opening chapter of this Volume it was stated that nation-wide surveys indicate that eighty-eight per cent of all American homes have at least one radio. Further analyses reveal the relationship between radio ownership and the various income groups in the population: for example, that 98.6 per cent of homes with incomes of more than $5,000 own radios; that 96.3 per cent of homes with incomes of $2,000 to $5,000, and 85.1 per cent of homes with incomes of $2,000 or less have at least one radio.[1] Based upon these various estimates it may be said that at least twenty-five million American families have radio sets in their homes, of which four million have more than one set. A total of 34,000,000 sets were in operation in the United States in 1937. It is significant that the number of homes having radio sets is more than twice the total of telephone subscribers and

[1] *Chicago American National Almanac and Yearbook*, 1938, p. 682.

approximately fifty per cent more than the number of American families owning automobiles. Of the same order is the fact that during recent years more than a million and a half automobile radios have been sold.

From an industry which in 1921 had a total production value of only $11,745,585, the manufacture of radio equipment had increased to an annual total of $842,548,000 in 1930. Although since that time unfavorable economic conditions have affected this industry, more than a million and a half home radios and an additional million automobile radios were sold in 1936.

Radio stations in the United States, it has already been pointed out, operate on licenses granted by the federal government. Twenty-eight per cent of all stations operating in 1937 were owned or controlled by newspapers, 4.85 per cent by colleges and universities, 2.71 by radio and electric dealers, 1.86 by radio and electric manufacturers, 1.71 by religious and charitable institutions, 1.29 by insurance companies, .86 by state and municipal governments, .72 by department stores, and .43 by labor and farm organizations. The remaining 57.57 per cent are operated as separate private enterprises. It will be observed, therefore, that with the exception of 7.85 per cent related to religious, educational, civic and labor organizations, radio in the United States is established primarily as a business enterprise with the profit motive foremost. Hence it falls within the purview of this Volume.

In its dependence for major revenues upon advertising, radio is somewhat similar to the newspaper or the magazine. The advertiser in a newspaper or magazine chooses a particular publication on the basis of reader interest as evidenced by circulation built up because of its various features. In the printed media the advertiser is responsible only for his own copy. But in radio, while the particular station chosen is determined by the listening audience claimed by the station, the advertiser is not only responsible for his advertising copy to be read over the air but also for the program which corresponds to the newspaper feature or magazine article. It is in this aspect that the radio advertiser has more responsibility for the extent to which his advertising attracts an audience of prospective customers. Because the listener has so many alternatives in selecting the program to which he listens, it follows that to sustain a sufficient audience for the program to be profitable to the advertiser the type and calibre of the program must meet with the approval of the group to whom the product is being advertised. Consequently, competition among advertisers is exceedingly keen, and as one type of program succeeds another in popular favor, leads to avid imitation—a situation somewhat resembling that found in motion pictures. Unlike the newspaper and magazine field where the cost of space is the largest advertising expense, radio time charge represents only one of the many items in the total cost of a program. For example, in one Sunday evening program more than forty thousand dollars is spent for talent and direction, while thirty-five thousand dollars represents the expense of the network time.

There is as yet no absolute method of determining the effect of any one radio program or any specific radio station. In this respect radio is similar to other forms of advertising. Frequently, however, by means of telephone surveys, house-to-house canvasses or prize contests of one kind or another usually requiring the purchase of the sponsor's product, and by the quantity and type of correspondence received from listeners, attempts are made to evaluate some of the programs. There is likewise no certain method of determining whether listeners in a particular income group to whom specific advertising is directed are more susceptible to one type of amusement than to another. However, despite this lack of proved knowledge, radio as a means of advertising has grown by leaps and bounds. In any event advertisers and broadcasters appear to believe that certain kinds of programs make a more effective appeal than others. What are they? An analysis of the various network programs for the last half of 1937 reveals that the programs of NBC and Columbia divided into the following major types:

Number of programs	*Types of program*
	Daytime Programs
45	Drama and serial
24	Talks and instructions
3	Classical music
9	Variety
4	News commentators

(*Continued on page 119*)

Number of programs	*Types of programs*
15	Popular music
2	Hymns
4	Song-patter teams
2	Familiar music
2	Hollywood originated shows
	Nighttime Programs
59	Variety
30	Popular music
28	Drama
11	Semi-classical music
6	Sports
3	Classical music
6	Audience participation
5	Comedy teams
11	Familiar music
1	Amateur hours
6	Talks
3	News commentators
1	Popular religion
2	Band music
12	Children's programs
32	Hollywood originated shows
60	Shows with guest stars

Because radio is commercialized and its effectiveness as a means of advertising is contingent upon the ability of programs to attract substantial listening audiences, it is only logical that radio should become a primary factor in the recreational life of the country. It should not cause surprise therefore that approximately one out of every five persons questioned in a recent survey indicated that radio was his or her favorite recreation. As a result of such popularity radio has had a two-fold effect on other forms of amusement. The success of certain programs, for example, has provided such competition that other commercialized recreation agencies have had to make compensating adjustments. In one large midwestern city the attendance at motion pictures suffered on Sunday evenings to such an extent from several of the country's outstanding radio programs that matinee prices were put into effect as an inducement to lure people away from their radio sets. Similarly, it has already been pointed out that established symphony concerts have suffered in attendance because of the competition of outstanding radio programs providing this type of music on the same evening. While radio does offer this type of competition, nevertheless radio programs have also tended to stimulate certain types of recreation attendance. The broadcasting of dance music from leading ballrooms, cabarets and night clubs has tended to stimulate patronage of these amusement enterprises. Likewise, according to most informants the broadcasting of baseball games and football contests has acted to encourage wider attendance at these events. The programs of sports radio commentators have served much the same purpose as the newspaper sports page, both in providing information to those already interested in given activities and stimulating others to take up new types of recreation either as participants or spectators.

Chicago's first radio station made its official debut on Armistice Day, 1921, when KYW broadcast from the stage of the Auditorium Theater. The following year this same station opened its first studio in the Edison Building; from that time on as radio grew in popularity other stations sprang up in Chicago and its environs. It has already been pointed out that broadcasting transcends national borders; therefore the Chicago listening audience is served not only by Chicago stations but also by others throughout the country; even more significant is the fact that Chicago stations probably serve more listeners outside of the corporate limits of the city than within Chicago itself. In marked contrast with the early days of radio in Chicago when each Monday night all stations in the city observed a silent period in order that listeners might attempt to get stations in other sections of the country, today the chain program has obviated any need for this device, and programs from all over the country are made available to Chicagoans. In 1937 there were fourteen radio stations licensed to operate in the city of Chicago. In addition, there were several others located in adjoining suburbs or nearby in Indiana which regarded Chicago as their primary listening audience. Certain details of the following fourteen Chicago stations may prove of interest.

WAAF—Owned and operated by the *Chicago Daily Drovers Journal*
Operating power: 1,000 watts
Licensed to operate on regional channel
Operates on Central Standard Time

Actual operating schedule: Daily 6:00 A.M. continuously to local sunset

WBBM—Owned and operated by the Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
Operating power: 50,000 watts
Licensed to operate on nationally cleared channel
Operates on Chicago time
Actual operating schedule: Sunday 7:45 A.M. to 2:00 A.M. Week days 6:15 A.M. to 1:30 A.M.

WCBD—Operated by Gene T. Dyer
Operating power: 5,000 watts
Divides time with station WMBI
Actual operating schedule: 7:30 A.M. to 10:30 A.M.; 1:00 P.M. to 3:00 P.M.

WCFL—Owned and operated by Chicago Federation of Labor
Operating power: 5,000 watts
Licensed to operate on cleared channel
Operates on Central Standard Time
Actual operating schedule: Sunday, 8:00 A.M. to 12:00 midnight; Week days: 6:30 A.M. to 12:00 midnight

WCRW—Owned and operated by Clinton R. White
Operating power: 100 watts
Divides time with WSBC and WEDC
Licensed to operate on cleared local channel on Central Standard Time
Actual operating schedule: Week days and Sundays, 11:00 A.M. to 2:00 P.M. and 5:00 P.M. to 7:00 P.M.

WEDC—Owned and operated by Emil Denemark, Inc.
Operating power: 100 watts
Divides time with stations WCRW and WSBC
Actual operating schedule: 8:30 A.M. to 10:00 A.M.; 3:30 to 5:00 P.M.; 7:00 to 8:00 P.M.; 10:00 to 11:00 P.M.

WENR—Owned and operated by the National Broadcasting Company, Inc., under lease from Great Lakes Broadcasting Company
Operating power: 50,000 watts
Divides time with station WLS
Operates on Chicago time
Actual operating schedule: Monday through Friday, 3:00 P.M. to 7:00 P.M. and 8:00 P.M. to 1:30 A.M.; Saturday 3:00 P.M. to 7:00 P.M.; Sunday, 12:00 noon to 6:30 P.M. and 8:00 P.M. to 1:30 A.M.

WGES—Owned by Oak Leaves Broadcasting Station, Inc.
Operated by Gene T. Dyer
Operating power: 1,000 watts Sundays; 500 watts week days
Divides time with station WSBT
Actual operating schedule: 7:00 A.M. to 12:00 noon and 3:30 to 8:00 P.M.

WGN—Owned and operated by WGN, Inc.
Operating power: 50,000 watts
Licensed to operate full time on cleared channel, on Central Standard Time
Actual operating schedule: Sunday 8:30 A.M. to 1:30 A.M.; Week days 7:00 A.M. to 1:00 A.M.

WJJD—Owned and operated by WJJD, Inc.
Operating power: 20,000 watts
Operates on Chicago time
Licensed to operate limited time, 6:00 A.M. to 7:30 P.M.

WLS—Owned by the Agricultural Broadcasting Co. and operated by the *Prairie Farmer*
Operating power: 50,000 watts
Licensed to operate on cleared channel. Divides time with station WENR
Operates on Chicago time
Actual operating schedule: daily except Saturday and Sunday, 6:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M., 7:00 P.M. to 8:30 P.M.; Saturday, 6:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M., 7:00 P.M. to 12:00 midnight; Sunday, 8:00 A.M. to 12:00 noon, 6:30 P.M. to 8:30 P.M.

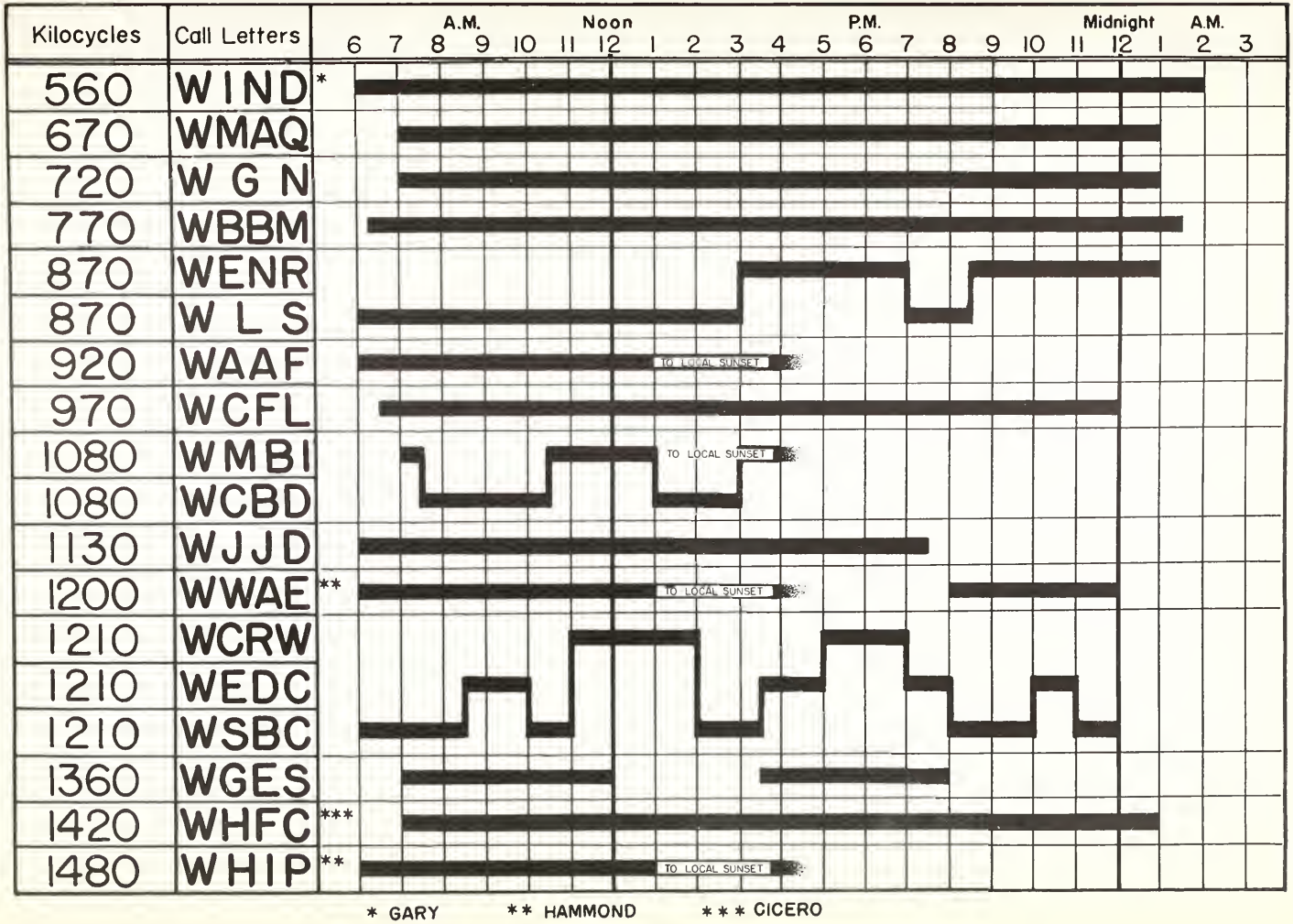
WMAQ—Owned and operated by National Broadcasting Co., Inc.
Operating power: 50,000 watts
Licensed to operate full time on cleared national channel
Operates on Chicago time
Actual operating schedule: Sunday, 8:00 A.M. to 1:00 A.M.; Week days 7:00 A.M. to 1:00 A.M.

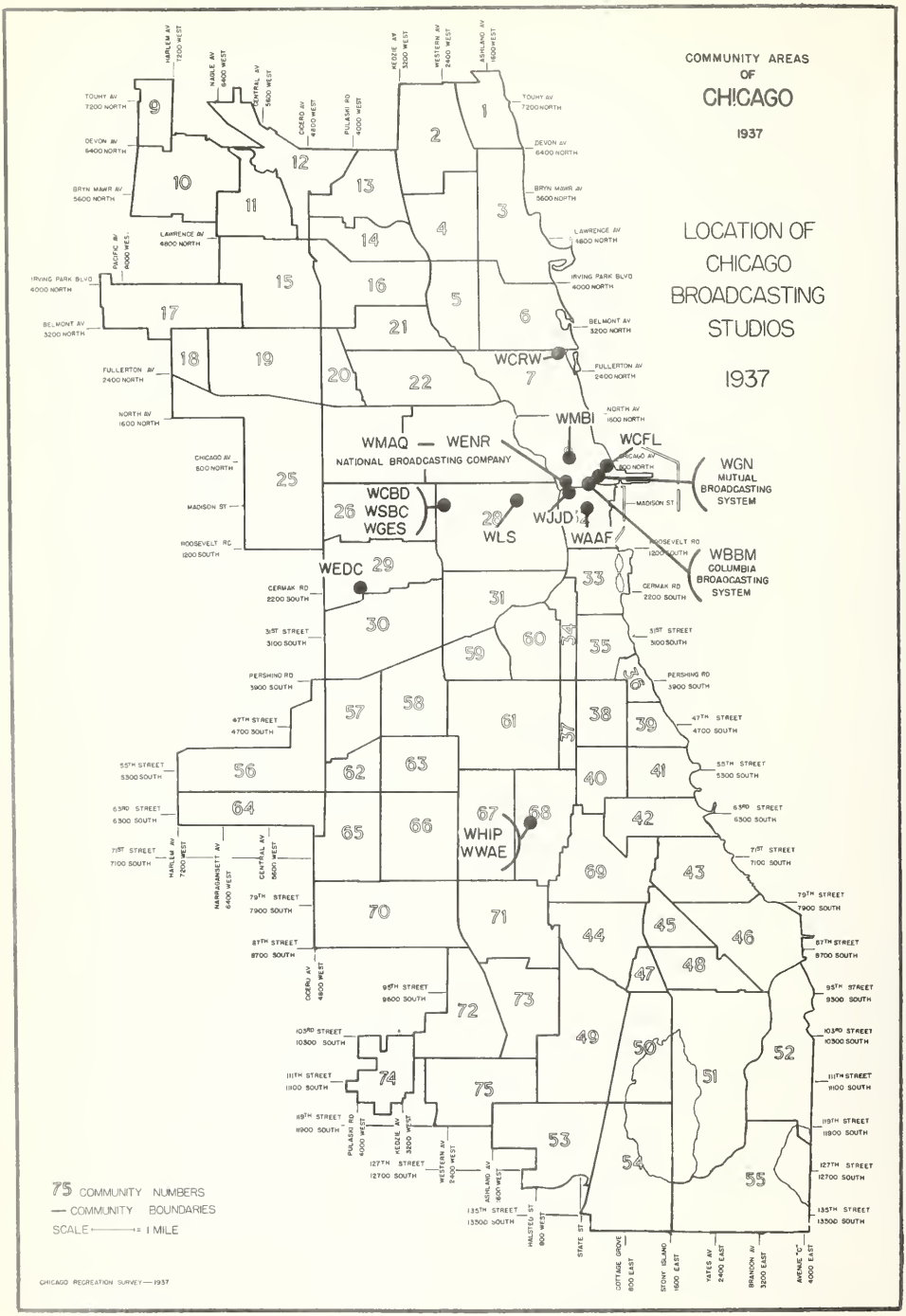
WMBI—Owned and operated by Moody Bible Institute
Does not sell time
Actual operating schedule: 7:00 A.M. to 7:30 A.M.; 10:30 A.M. to 1:00 P.M.; 3:00 P.M. to local sunset

WSBC—Owned and operated by Gene T. Dyer
Operating power: 100 watts
Divides time with WEDC and WCRW
Actual operating schedule: 6:00 A.M. to 8:30 A.M.; 10:00 A.M. to 11:00 A.M.; 2:00 P.M. to 3:30 P.M.; 8:00 P.M. to 10:00 P.M.; 11:00 P.M. to 12:00 midnight

WHFC (Cicero)—Owned and operated by WHFC, Inc., Cicero
Operating power: 250 watts days; 100 watts nights
Actual operating schedule: 7:00 A.M. to 1:00 A.M.

WEEKDAY SCHEDULE OF OPERATIONS OF CHICAGO RADIO STATIONS




COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
LOCATION OF
CHICAGO
BROADCASTING
STUDIOS
1937
WMAQ — WENR
NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY
WCRW
WMBI
WCFL
WGN
MUTUAL
BROADCASTING
SYSTEM
WCBD
WSBC
WGES
WLS
WJJD
WAAF
WBBM
COLUMBIA
BROADCASTING
SYSTEM
WEDC
WHIP
WWAE
75 COMMUNITY NUMBERS
— COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES
SCALE ← → 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY — 1937

WIND (Gary)—Owned and operated by Johnson-Kennedy Radio Corp., Indiana
Operating power: 5,000 watts days; 1,000 watts nights
Licensed to operate full time
Actual operating schedule: Sunday 7:00 A.M. to 4:00 A.M.; Week days 6:00 A.M. to 2:00 A.M.

WEDC and WMBI. All of the stations in the Chicago area, with the exception of WMBI which is operated by the Moody Bible Institute, are commercial institutions and sell time. During 1937 the rates for time on the various Chicago stations ranged as follows:

	Before 6:00 P.M.			*After 6:00 P.M.*		
Station	*1 Hour*	*½ Hour*	*¼ Hour*	*1 Hour*	*½ Hour*	*¼ Hour*
WAAF	$109.25	$65.50	$38.00	$164.00	$93.00	$54.50
WCBD	95.00	52.50	29.00	120.00	65.00	34.00
WCFL	178.00	92.50	49.75	237.50	123.50	66.50
WCRW	Maximum time sold 15 minutes—Not on after 7:00 P.M.					
WENR	300.00*	180.00*	120.00*	600.00	360.00	240.00
WBBM	375.00	225.00	135.00	750.00	450.00	270.00
WGES	76.50	43.00	24.00	105.00	56.50	29.00
WGN	350.00	210.00	140.00	650.00	390.00	260.00
WJJD	135.00	81.00	45.00	198.00	117.00	72.00
WLS	427.50	256.50	171.00	712.50	427.50	285.00
WMAQ	300.00	180.00	120.00	600.00	360.00	240.00
WSBC	67.50	40.50	23.50	90.00	54.00	27.00
WHFC (Cicero)	47.50	28.50	15.20	76.00	47.50	28.50
WMBI	Does not sell time					
WEDC	Divides time with stations WCRW and WSBC					
WIND (Gary, Ind.)	108.00	63.00	40.50	157.50	94.50	54.00
WWAE (Hammond, Ind.)	53.00	32.00	18.00	63.00	40.00	22.50
WHIP (Hammond, Ind.)	95.00	57.00	34.20			

Note: These general classifications do not break the rates into the several classes which are used by the chain and some other stations, nor do they indicate discounts or special rates. The chain stations offer various discounts based on either the amount expended each week or the number of broadcasts contracted for. Rates on all other stations are on the thirteen-week contract basis.
*3:00 to 6:30 p.m.

WWAE (Hammond)—Owned and operated by Hammond-Calumet Broadcasting Co.
Operating power: 100 watts
Divides time with station WFAM
Actual operating schedule: 6:00 A.M. to local sunset, 8:00 P.M. to 12:00 midnight

WHIP (Hammond)—Owned and operated by Hammond-Calumet Broadcasting Co.
Operating power: 5,000 watts
Actual operating schedule: 6:00 A.M. to local sunset

Two of the stations, WENR and WMAQ, are owned and operated by the National Broadcasting Company and two others, WLS and WCFL are affiliated with this same chain. Station WBBM is owned and operated by the Columbia Broadcasting System, and WGN, owned by the *Chicago Tribune*, is the Chicago outlet of the Mutual Broadcasting System. Supplementing these chain affiliated systems are the seven independent broadcasters, WJJD, WAAF, WCBD, WGES, WSBC,

Classified according to minimum and maximum power three of the Chicago stations are defined as local stations, two as regional and nine as clear channel stations. All of the chain-affiliated stations are in this latter classification. A study of the hours of operation of Chicago stations reveals that fourteen stations in and adjacent to the city operate at one time and that between the hours of 2:00 and 6:00 A.M. none of the Chicago stations are on the air. (There are occasional exceptions to this last statement when outstanding events of wide interest are occurring and also when individual stations are testing equipment.)

Most of the programs of the smaller stations consist of recordings or special transcribed programs of one kind or another, and generally include advertising spot announcements. Chicago's chain programs are very much the same as those offered in other sections of the country. On a typical week day four major stations put on 214

programs. Of these 119 were commercial and 95 sustaining. These totals do not include spot announcements, which usually come between programs and are from 15 seconds to half a minute in duration. This period is generally used for time signals, news flashes and weather forecasts. They are also either commercial or sustaining. Throughout a broadcast day one of these stations had 24 commercial and four sustaining spot announcements. The breakdown of a typical daily program at two stations (based on their radio logs) ranks music first and speaking second. Of 52 programs over a National Broadcasting Company affiliate station, 31 were devoted to music; 10 to speaking (news broadcasts-commentators, etc.); 7 were dramatic productions; and 4 combined music and speaking. The Columbia Broadcasting System station had 21 dramas, 16 speaking, 11 music and 10 music and speaking programs. On an average Sunday, programs over the same stations show the first to have 19 musical programs, 5 music and speaking, 1 drama and 5 speaking; over the Columbia System 21 musical, 7 music and speaking, 5 drama and 4 speaking. An independent station's average broadcast day is reported as follows: music 8½ hours; news broadcast and spot announcements, 1 hour; special talks primarily educational, 1 hour.

Eight local stations broadcast 46 educational and cultural programs in an average week. This is an average of 6 4/7 programs daily. Some are received over national hookups, others originate locally. At the beginning of the 1937-1938 school season it was deemed advisable by local authorities to keep the schools closed because of an outbreak of infantile paralysis. Radio broadcasting stations volunteered air time to permit teachers to hold classes via radio. This experiment resulted in the appointment of a bureau of radio education. The importance of this experiment is noted in the following reports:[1] "In the 175 elementary and 19 high schools in Cook County (Chicago) the listening audience now comprises 51,000 students, and 12 additional schools are installing radio sets."

Due to the characteristics inherent in the short wave type of projection which make possible the transmission of programs for great distances, recent years have developed an increasing interest in short wave radio stations. This is true particularly of European countries. But interest in short wave reception in the United States also has caused radio manufacturers to include this wave band on the majority of the models produced in the United States. These models make it possible for the listener to enjoy not only the programs of the seven hundred stations in the broadcast band but also the thousands of amateur stations and short wave commercial and experimental stations. Police radio calls are also located in these lower bands, but because of the nature of these broadcasts it is illegal in most states for automobile radios to be tuned in to this type of program.

Two experimental short wave stations are licensed in Chicago: W9XAA operated by station WCFL, and W9XF owned by the International Broadcast station but using WENR's studios. A regular schedule is not maintained by station W9XAA. Except Saturday and Sunday W9XF is on the air from 12:05 A.M. to 1:00 A.M. and from 3:00 P.M. to 5:50 P.M. Saturday the broadcast runs from 12:05 A.M. to 1:00 A.M. and in the afternoon from 3:00 to 4:30 P.M. Sunday hours are 12:05 A.M. to 1:00 A.M., and 12:00 noon to 4:50 P.M. The programs are identical with those broadcast at such hours over station WENR. Recorded announcements are made in eight languages, English, German, Italian, Swedish, French, Japanese, Spanish and Russian. Acknowledgment of reception of the programs of W9XAA has been received from all points of the world.

Approximately four thousand amateur stations are licensed in Chicago by the Federal Communications Commission. These stations are usually operated by student radio engineers or youth interested in radio. In order to qualify applicants must pass an examination proving their ability to operate a station according to the regulations of the Federal Communications Commission. Amateur stations are not permitted to broadcast programs but are limited to code practice and talking with other amateurs about their radio interests.

From the listener standpoint of accepting radio as a preferred form of commercial recreation, Chicago seems to be fairly typical of American metropolitan areas; it runs true to type, for example, in

[1] *Broadcasting*, January 15, 1938, p. 28.

number of listeners, equipment, interest and expenditure. As may be inferred from Chapter I of this Volume, Chicagoans spend approximately eight dollars per capita annually for this type of amusement. But from the standpoint of providing centers for the satisfying of public interest in radio, Chicago with only fourteen out of the seven hundred broadcasting stations in the United States, that is, roughly one station to every 230,000 inhabitants, falls below the national average of approximately one station to every 180,000 population. Moreover, it is a commonly accepted observation that few continuous outstanding radio features or programs originate here. Various explanations of this fact have received wide currency; but in such a fact-finding study as this Survey, it is impossible to dogmatize on such controversial issues as to whether Chicago is held back from ascendency in the radio field because New York is the nation's financial and theatrical center, or because it sucks away genius from every other great city, or because the activities of musicians in Chicago are more restricted by labor regulations than obtain in other centers. The fact remains that Chicago is conspicuous as a consumer rather than a producer of radio satisfactions.

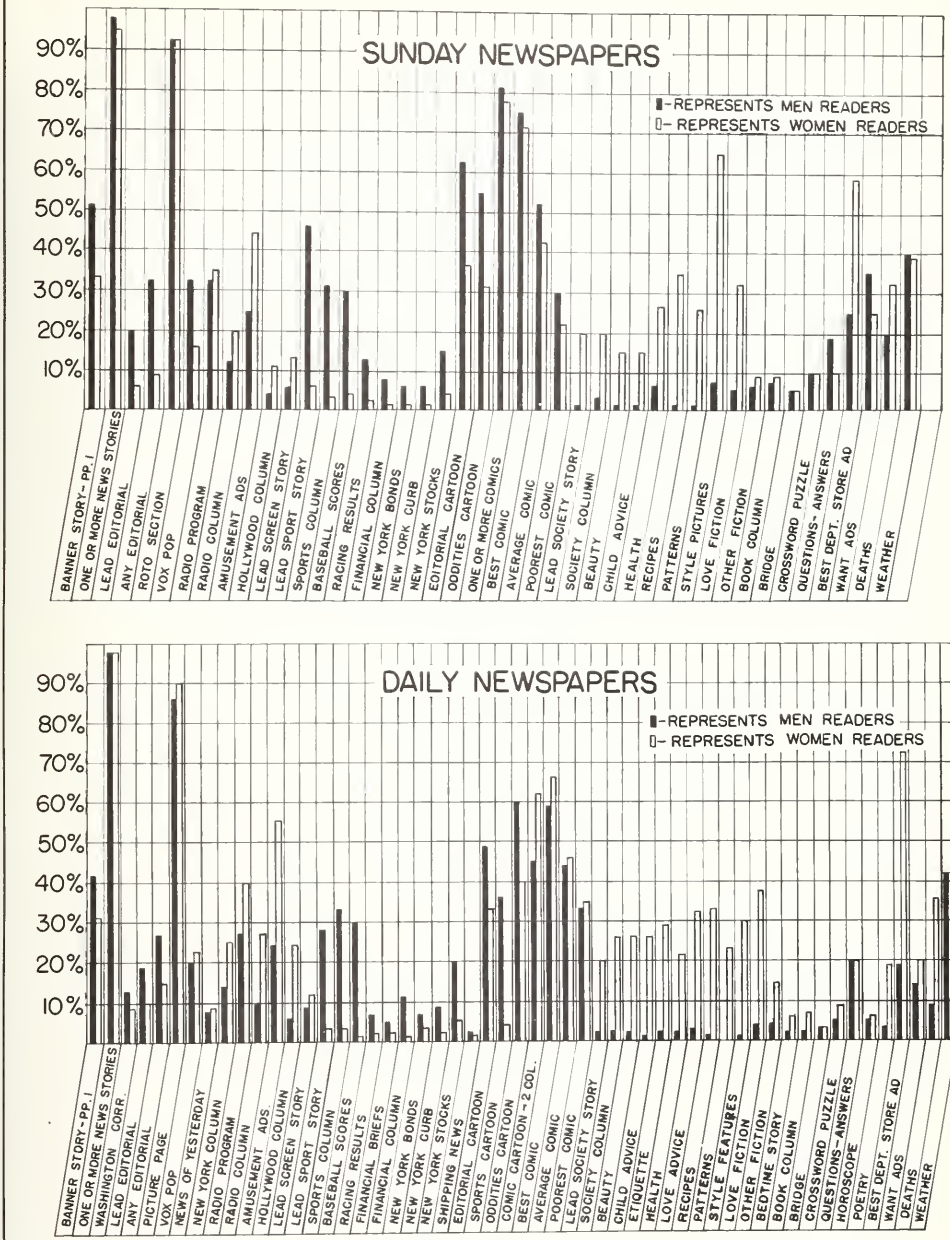
CHAPTER XV

NEWSPAPER PROMOTIONAL ACTIVITIES

That the enjoyment derived from reading the daily newspaper is included only rarely in analyses of a community's recreational opportunities may be attributed to the fact that the American newspaper is such an established institution that it is taken for granted like taxes or the weather. Its primary function, the publishing of news, local and worldwide, the newspaper provides considerable leisure reading. Its various and constantly increasing special features offer wide recreational opportunities for millions of readers. The average metropolitan newspaper of today with its sports departments, amusement pages, comics, short stories and serials, radio columns and special sections devoted to miscellaneous columnists, rotogravure, poetry, book reviews, recipes, etc., not only provides for an appreciable amount of an individual's leisure in reading, but also exerts a notable influence in developing interest in the various activities described. It is generally agreed that it is more profitable to give the reader what he wants; yet newspapers frequently pioneer and take initiative and responsibility for the local development of interest in varied forms of recreation. An example of this principle may be found in the sporting pages; here the distribution of space is determined by readers' interest in particular games or types of athletic competition; in proportion as increased interest in a sport is expressed in larger attendance or wider participation and as readers' interest is presumed to be correspondingly developing in this event or sport, the amount of newspaper space devoted to it is increased. A similar situation is discovered by analyzing the amusement and motion picture pages.

In a recent survey by *Fortune* magazine more than 7 per cent of the individuals interviewed indicated that "reading the newspaper" was their first and most enjoyable recreational preference. It is not beyond reason to believe that part of the large amount of newspaper space allocated to athletics and sports is traceable to the fact that watching sporting events, hunting and fishing, going to the movies and listening to the radio constituted 56 per cent of the total first preferences. Dr. George Gallup's recent study of the reading habits and choices of newspaper readers in forty American cities (*See* chart) makes clear that the percentage of readers who regularly read features of a recreational nature is significant.

In the strictest sense newspaper reading is not commercial recreation according to the accepted definition in the opening chapter of this Volume; while the reader is assessed a small fee for his paper, newspaper reading remains essentially an individual activity and for most persons is a form of private recreation. Nevertheless, most newspapers promote and foster other recreational opportunities both for spectators and for participants which constitute important contributions to the total community for recreational activities, particularly in the larger metropolitan areas. These activities range from contests of one kind or another to large athletic tournaments and mass spectacles; indeed some of the country's outstanding sporting events are promoted through newspapers. The basis for newspaper-sponsored community features is essentially commercial, that is the creating of reader interest which in turn increases circulation, upon which advertising rates are based. The fact that the motive is not altruistic does not detract from an appreciation of their value to the community. In many instances these activities represent pioneering in fields where commercial promoters, public agencies or private organizations are either unable to provide sponsorship or unwilling to take the financial risks involved. It is seldom that newspapers invade a field already being developed satisfactorily; on the other hand, on more than one occasion an outstanding sporting attraction has been originated through newspapers and then turned over to special groups, logically related to the activity. Wherever possible no charge is made for attending or participating in newspaper-promoted sport-



NEWSPAPER READING HABITS BASED ON GALLUP STUDIES IN 40 CITIES

ing events; when such a charge is made and a profit shown the surplus is frequently turned over to charity.

Chicago has five daily newspapers,* the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Chicago Herald Examiner*, morning papers; the *Chicago Daily News*, the *Chicago Evening American* and the *Chicago Daily Times*, circulated in the afternoon. The *Tribune*, *Herald Examiner* and the *Times* are also issued on Sundays. Based upon 1937 circulation Chicagoans each week day read 768,004 morning papers and 940,346 afternoon papers, a total of 1,708,350. On Sunday the circulation within the city limits of the one tabloid (the *Times*) and two regular sized papers was 1,068,658. Approximately $18,000,000 or more than $4.50 for each resident of Chicago was paid for these daily and Sunday editions during the year. It is not possible to determine the number of morning readers who also purchase at least one afternoon paper, nor how many Sunday readers buy more than one paper; however, if the trade practice of two and a half readers to every copy is applied, it is clear that the city is well covered by its newspapers. If the amount of out-of-the-city circulation be added to city circulations, the sphere of influence of the Chicago press reaches tremendous proportions.

Each of the Chicago newspapers includes all of the various types of features used in the Gallup computations. While certain fields are emphasized by individual newspapers, in general, no particular news features are omitted by any of them. So far as recreational features are concerned, sports continue to provide an increasing amount of space in all the papers. The fact that at a time when newspaper advertising has fallen off these numerous recreational features are not discontinued or even curtailed, would seem to indicate that by various means it has been determined that reader interest warrants their continuance.

During 1937 twenty-nine annual sports events were sponsored by the five Chicago daily newspapers. An unrecorded number of additional events are held each year, but are not scheduled regularly thereafter. Newspaper-sponsored activities are frequently spectacular and "pull" large crowds. Hence recreation programs of this nature are an important feature in the leisure-time activities of Chicagoans. It is estimated that during 1937 nearly two million people were interested to the extent of either attending or participating in these newspaper-promoted programs.

The *Chicago Evening American* sponsors three annual athletic meets and provides facilities for women's club meetings. This newspaper began conducting a city-wide softball tournament in 1928 or 1929. In 1933, the first national tournament was sponsored and the American Softball Association formed. The first year four hundred teams of men, women, boys and girls were entered in the tournament, and the elimination series was held at the 124th Field Artillery. In 1937, eight hundred Chicago teams took part. Entrants are divided into neighborhood leagues of seven or eight teams, and play is arranged between their respective leagues. First and second place teams enter the quarter-finals for the city. More than 8,000 players took an active part and over a million people watched the 4,800 games. Most of the playing occurs in the twilight hours of early summer evenings. The games are played in many of the parks, vacant lots, or other available space suitable for such play. The city champions in each class are eligible for the national finals. Admission to all games is free, except those in the semi-finals and finals, for which the usual charge is twenty-five and thirty-five cents.

All of the World's Amateur Softball Championship tournaments have been held in Chicago. The growth has been regular, as is indicated by reports for 1935; thirty-three states brought 40 men's teams, 16 women's teams, and 160,000 spectators watched the games in Soldier Field. Forty-two states, the District of Columbia and Canada entered 56 men's and 32 women's teams in the 1937 tournament. Winners of the various city eliminations receive either medals or trophies, depending upon which is more popular. The winner of the world championship is given possession of the one thousand dollar William Randolph Hearst world's softball championship trophy.

The first *Chicago Evening American* Women's Bowling Classic was held in 1928. The number of women for whom bowling provides recreation has increased tremendously in this ten-year period.

*Space does not permit inclusion of foreign language and other publications of limited circulation.

The first classic had 2,769 entrants and in 1937, 545 teams with 10,457 entrants took part in the tournament. For 1937 the increase over 1936 was estimated at forty per cent. Half of the 1937 entrants, or, to be precise, 5,228, were from Chicago. Twenty-one to thirty days are required for the tourney. The 1938 meet will last thirty days and will require the exclusive use of forty alleys. The location has been changed each year. On week days the meets begin at noon and continue until midnight. Saturday and Sunday they are open from 8:00 A.M., and playing ceases at midnight or later. Prizes of an estimated value of $15,000 are divided among six classes of singles, doubles, teams and special events. Included in the list of prizes are cash awards, jewelry, furs and bowling equipment. Women spectators are admitted free to all tournament meets. Men are charged twenty-five cents. All admission receipts except the amount required to pay ticket sellers and takers, are used to set up part of the cash prizes. The tourney last year was attended by approximately 45,000 persons, and the largest crowd at one time was 1,000.

The city basketball tournament which has been held annually since 1930 is credited with being the largest independent cage meet in the country. Approximately 4,000 basketball players compete on a total of 400 teams. It opens about the middle of January and continues through the early part of March. A registration fee of $1.00 per team, is assessed; this automatically registers the players in the Amateur Athletic Union. Entries are divided into six classes, namely, men's free lance, commercial and fraternal or church; boys under 18 years of age, and girls novice and free lance. Each team is included in an eight-team bracket play and competes in approximately seven games in the first round. Individual teams scheduled to play make their own arrangements, but scores must be reported on or before specified dates. The preliminaries are played at gymnasiums in all sections of the city. All semi-final and final games are played in one of the city's larger gymnasiums. Ten days are usually required to complete the semi-finals and finals. The attendance during the ten-day period reaches a total of 10,000 who pay an admission charge of 35 to 50 cents. Various trophies are awarded to the winning teams as well as awards for each player and a chance to play for a trip to the National A.A.U. championship meet.

Until recently a cooking school was conducted over a period of eleven years with four night and two afternoon classes each week. Within the past year, however, the plan has been considerably modified in the direction of recreation. Now forty-five minutes of the afternoon are devoted to food talks and demonstrations. On four afternoons of each week from September until June, the *American* furnishes space, card tables and refreshments to women's organizations of various types desiring these services. All dates for the present season are reserved without a duplication of organization. The guest group receives sufficient free tickets from the sponsor; these are frequently sold to members and friends and the proceeds accrue to the club or church group. Attendance from September 1937 to January 1, 1938 reached a level of approximately 8,000, and a like number is anticipated before the closing date in June. On this basis the season total is approximately 16,000.

The *Chicago Herald and Examiner* is the sponsor of six annual events; three are of particular interest to youth, and one is exclusively for women. The other two events are of interest to mixed groups of all ages. The William Randolph Hearst Outboard Speed Boat Regatta was inaugurated in 1932 and since that time has been held in August on one of the park lagoons. This is an event which attracts the country's leading outboard pilots. The public is invited to view the spectacle without charge and it is estimated that at the 1937 regatta 180,000 were in attendance.

The Carnival of Comics is a children's pageant in which hundreds of Chicago children appear in the costume of their favorite comic character as depicted in either of the Hearst papers. Usually this carnival is sponsored jointly, but during 1937 the *Herald and Examiner* was the sole promoter. Prizes in cash and merchandise are awarded to the children adjudged the winners. Each year more than five hundred children take part in this colorful event. It is generally held at Riverview Park, but occasionally has been held elsewhere.

The Annual Golf Tournament is open to caddies under eighteen years of age, who are the champions of the golf club they represent, or

who have been selected by the members as being the best players of their respective clubs. The tournament is a five-day event and is held in alternate years at Jackson and Lincoln Parks. In the 1937 tourney, one hundred and ten contestants were entered. Greens fees, lunch and carfare are paid by the sponsor for all entrants. The winners are presented with trophies and other awards. Five thousand spectators were attracted to the 1937 event.

The preliminary sectional games of the Hearst Grand National Amateur Tennis Tournament are played in the public parks. The final city games as well as the Mid-West sectional games are held on the courts of the Edgewater Beach Hotel. The winners in the city meet compete in the Mid-West sectional games against representatives of Detroit, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee and Canada. The victorious contestants in the Mid-West sectional series receive an all-expense trip to the West Coast, where they compete for the national championship. During 1937 two thousand entrants competed in the local meet.

Entrance to the Indoor and Outdoor Model Plane Building Contest is limited to members of the Junior Birdmen of America, a youth organization sponsored throughout the nation by the Hearst newspapers. Boys and girls between the ages of eighteen and twenty years are eligible for membership. This is one of the largest "youth promotions" carried on by any American newspaper. The Chicago branch has a membership of 95,000 recruited not only from Chicago, but also from the whole area in which the *Herald-Examiner* is circulated. Glider, stick and cabin planes are built by the boys and girls who enter the two events. The indoor and outdoor model plane building contests are held on different dates and at different places each spring. The maker must be able to fly his plane. Points by the judges are awarded for the length of time the plane is aloft, as well as for the workmanship. Winners in both of the local events are eligible to enter the national championship contests held annually about Easter time in New York. The trip is made by airplane and all expenses while in New York and Washington are paid by the sponsors. Prizes consisting of jewelry and merchandise are awarded to those finishing in other than first place.

The Soap Box Derby is open to boys between the ages of nine and fifteen years. This annual four-day event is held in Lincoln Park. While there are many more entries, five hundred boys actually participate in the derby each year. The racers must be built according to specifications of the sponsor and must not cost in excess of ten dollars. In recent races the newspaper co-operated in furnishing a sponsor for the boy to aid him in financing construction costs. The two classifications according to age are for boys nine to twelve and from thirteen to fifteen years of age. Most of the prizes awarded are merchandise, and the winner receives an all-expense trip to the national finals which are held annually in Akron, Ohio.

A cooking school has been a feature of this newspaper for fourteen years. Previous to two years ago several different plans of conducting them had been followed, but since that time meetings have been held at the Civic Opera House. The Prudence Penny Homemakers' Club holds its regular meeting on the last Friday of each month. While the basic idea is home-making, a considerable portion of the monthly meeting time is devoted to entertainment provided by famous radio and theatrical stars appearing in Chicago at radio stations, theatres and cabarets. Admission to the monthly session is by reserved ticket. Application for tickets is made by clipping a coupon which is printed previous to a meeting in all editions of the *Herald and Examiner*. In addition to having tickets those attending are expected to have membership cards which are mailed to them the first time they apply for tickets. The membership of the club is 60,000, representing 45,000 families. The entire seating capacity of the Civic Opera House, 3,800, is occupied at each meeting. From five hundred to fifteen hundred more requests are often received than can be accommodated. The twelve monthly meetings were attended by 45,600 women during 1937.

The program presented by the *Chicago Daily News* includes several unusual events; six have become regular parts of its annual schedule.

The Chicago Indoor Relays Meet is on a par with the Millrose, National A.A.U. and other outstanding indoor meets of the East, and affords the only opportunity for Chicagoans to attend an in-

door track event. American and Olympic champions compete in the events held to stimulate local interest in track sports. The meet is held in the International Amphitheatre during March. Admission rates are $1.00, $1.50, $2.00 and $3.00. Profits from the meet are distributed to various charities. Ten thousand fans attended the 1937 relays and several thousand more were turned away.

The Women's National A. A. U. Indoor Swimming and Diving Championship is usually held in the Lake Shore Athletic Club pool, with championships in free style, back stroke, breast stroke, medley, relays, high and low board diving decided in the meet. Championship teams from as far as Florida and Seattle compete regularly in this meet. Forty-five hundred people paid $1.00 or $2.00 to witness the events during the four-day period. Profits derived are given to charity.

The first annual Junior Legion Baseball Tournament was held in 1927. Regulation baseball is played. Cook County boys under 17 years of age are eligible. Last season 1,000 teams entered the local championship contest. Play starts in May and continues through July. The Cook County Championship is held in August at one of Chicago's Major League parks. An admission fee of ten cents is charged. The county champions play in the Junior World Series. Incidentally it is of interest to note that such outstanding major league players as Bob Feller and Phil Cavarretta began their careers in Junior Legion Baseball tournaments.

The *Chicago Daily News* Regatta, a one-day event held in August, enjoys wide recognition as a leader of its class. All registered yachts on Lake Michigan participate. Yachts are entered in the regatta from St. Joseph, Milwaukee, Michigan City and other lake shore points.

The *Daily News* Cooking School holds demonstrations on Tuesday afternoons at two o'clock and on Wednesday evenings at 6:30, except during the summer months. The school occupies the auditorium of the *Chicago Daily News* Building with a seating capacity of 400. Classes are free. Attendance for the twenty-six week period is estimated at between fifteen and twenty thousand.

A winter sport demonstration is the headliner of the *Chicago Daily Times* recreational promotions. Five events in addition to the ski meet are held each year.

The Ski-jump meet is the only one of its type held in the heart of a metropolitan area. The highest completely artificial hill slide in the United States is built for this meet, which is recognized as the official Central States Ski-Jumping Tournament. Supplementing this feature attraction is an ice-skating performance held on a portable rink. National champions and internationally famous skiers demonstrate their skill. In 1936, the first year of the meet, some 25,000 attended, and the 1937 attraction was witnessed by approximately 50,000. The admission rate is $1.10 for adults and forty cents for children under fifteen. Junior football, another of the sports fostered by the *Times*, is planned to interest boys of grade-school age in playing football; to that end instruction is provided for a limited period throughout the city. A city-wide meet is then held in Soldier Field and two squads are selected. These teams known as the Junior Bears and Junior Cards (named after the local professional teams), are outfitted by the *Times* and trained by a qualified coach. Games are played with neighborhood teams between the halves of several professional games during the season.

Commencing in June, 1933, a Roller Skate Derby has been held annually in Lincoln Park. Last year 3,500 contestants competed for merchandise prizes. A crowd of 30,000 was present to watch the competition.

The first annual Bicycle Pageant was held in the Court of Honor of Grant Park during the summer of 1937. The oldest and the newest stock cycles were featured in races. Competitions to select the funniest rider's costume, the oldest and the youngest cyclist were special attractions. A crowd of 20,000 watched the nearly 3,000 entertainers vie for honors. The winners in all events received merchandise prizes.

To encourage youngsters to learn how to swim, the *Times* co-operated in 1937 with the Chicago Park District in a Learn-to-Swim Campaign which included provision of instruction and lessons.

In September of each year, the *Times* sponsors and promotes a canoe race. At this time the Lincoln Park Boat Club competes with clubs repre-

senting St. Louis, Milwaukee and Detroit. In 1937, a crowd of 50,000 lined the banks of the Lincoln Park lagoon and watched events including, eight, four and single oar races; intercity canoe races; girl marines, outboard stunts, and the contest to decide the log-rolling championship.

The *Chicago Tribune* promotes and sponsors six annual events. Through an affiliation of newspapers throughout the nation with the *Tribune* three of these events enjoy a nationwide interest, although actually held in Chicago. The remaining three are strictly local and planned to appeal to the younger set. All profits derived from paid admission events are distributed to charities through *Chicago Tribune* Charities, Inc., a subsidiary established in January, 1937.

The Chicagoland Music Festival inaugurated in 1930, is the largest affair of its kind held in America. Outstanding instrumental and vocal music is presented, but the audience also participates through community singing. The festival is held each year in Soldier Field during the latter part of August. The attendance in 1937 was 80,000. Twenty-one states and Canada were represented by 3,452 contestants.

Previous to 1934, "All American" football teams were selected by one man or a small group of men, and appeared only on paper. The *Tribune* believed that followers of football would like to see an "All American" team in action, and concluded that the fans themselves should make the selections of both the team and its coaches. Hence the All Star Football Game. The players are selected from young men closing their college careers. The team so chosen is pitted against the previous season's professional champions. Interest in the "All Stars" game has increased each year since its inception. For the 1937 game the third largest crowd of the season gathered in Soldier Field. Games are held the last days of August or the first in September. The 1937 game was held on September 1. Associated with the *Tribune* were 150 newspapers which polled a players' vote of 5,036,466 and a total of 6,844,466 votes for coaches. The "All Stars" met the Green Bay Packers before a crowd of 84,650.

To create spectator and participants' interest in amateur boxing, the Golden Gloves Tournament was instituted by the *Tribune* in 1928. Throughout the nation newspapers co-operated with the *Tribune* in sponsoring contests out of which to select champions for the finals in Chicago. The winners of the Chicago and New York finals meet in an intercity contest each year, which alternates between the cities. The International Golden Gloves Tournament was started in 1931. After the first three meets, which were held in Soldier Field, a change was made to the Chicago Stadium.

Attendance (1937) at the five divisions of the Golden Gloves was as follows:

Sectional contests	9,859
Tournament of champions	18,522
Finals	21,768
Intercity	21,280
International	21,450
Total	92,879

The *Tribune* also sponsors a Golf School which provides a course of lessons in the fundamentals of golf. Each evening during the course, a lesson is given by a professional at each of several public golf courses. Attendance has nearly doubled since it was started in 1933. In that year 17,000 attended, while in 1937, 30,000 were enrolled.

The Silver Skates Derby started in 1917 and held each year since, is the oldest *Tribune* sports event. Admission to the Silver Skates Derby is free. Its purpose is to encourage skating among young people. The Derby is held at one of the parks. In the 1937 Derby held at LaFollette Park, 3,200 contestants competed and spectators numbered 25,000.

The annual Swim Meet was launched in 1930. It has been held ordinarily in the Lincoln Park lagoon, but in 1937 the Whealan Pool in the Forest Preserve was used. The entries in 1937 totalled 1,840, and attendance 2,000. The fact that the Forest Preserve Pool was used, accounts for the sharp decline from a previous annual average attendance of approximately 40,000.

CHAPTER XVI

AMUSEMENT PARKS, RIDING DEVICES, PENNY ARCADES, WALK-AROUNDS, GAMES OF SKILL, PICNIC GROVES, SHOOTING GALLERIES, CIRCUSES, ENDURANCE CONTESTS

Amusement Parks

Already established as a rifle practice range and picnic grove in 1879, Riverview Park today is the only operating seventh-class amusement establishment in the city of Chicago. Since 1904, when the first amusement business features were introduced and the six-acre location was renamed Riverview Park, this amusement center (now covering more than 140 acres including a 30-acre plot devoted to picnic groves), presents more rides, amusement devices and other attractions than any similar location in the entire world. During the thirty-three years of its existence as a definite amusement park, the management of Riverview has constantly changed the attractions each season, adding new and more spectacular features. The mechanical riding devices such as the World's Fastest Coaster ride, the Streamlined Blue Streak, Zephyr, and adaptations of modern aeronautical devices such as the Parachute Rides, Rocket Ships, and the Flying Turns have attracted wide attention. In addition to the $720 license fee which the management pays for the eighteen weeks of operation each year, all of the separate entertainment features within the park and to which an admission fee is charged are subject to additional licenses within their respective classifications.

In 1937 records of the City License Bureau indicate that the following additional fees were paid in amusement classifications:

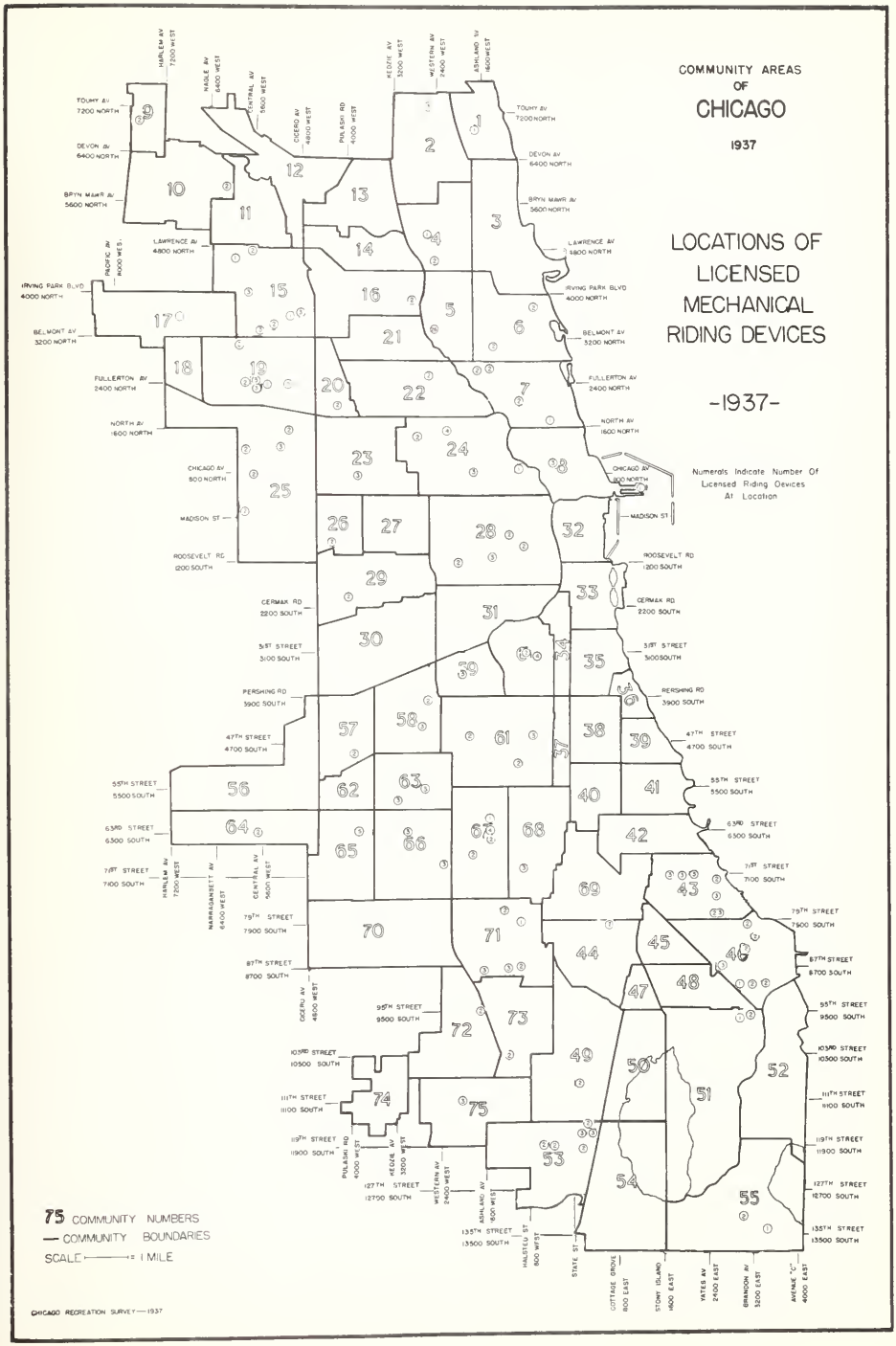
Class	*Amusement*	*Fee*
4	1 Penny arcade	$ 69.30
8	1 Picnic grove	10.00
14	1 Airdrome	69.30
16	5 Walk-arounds	178.00
18	26 Mechanical riding devices	926.00

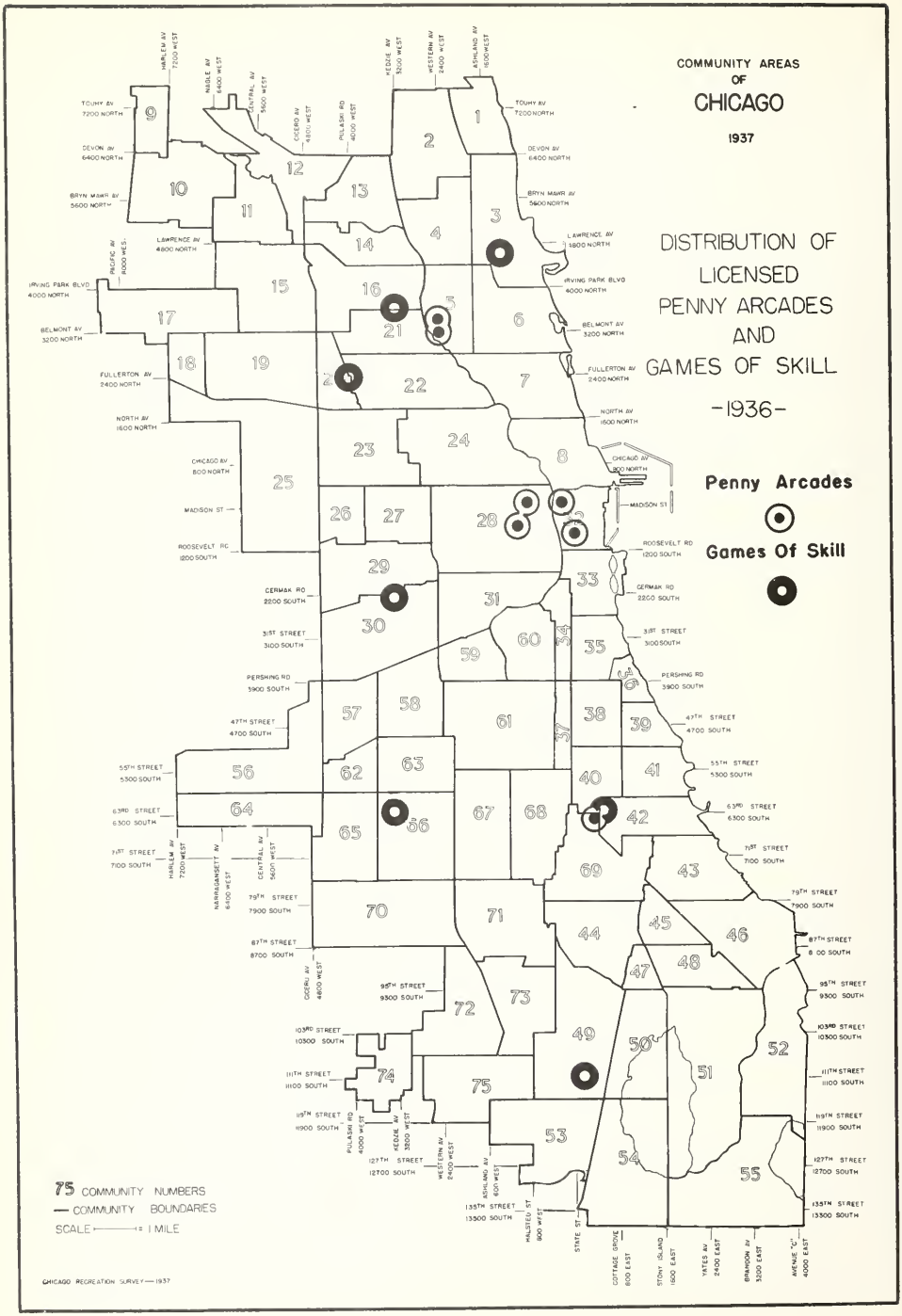
In addition, Riverview Park was the location of one shooting gallery with an annual license fee of $50.00; and a roller-skating rink and dance hall, discussed in more detail in other chapters of this Volume, were among several year-around attractions. To stimulate business special reduced admission rates as low as two cents were offered for certain nights during the week. The most prevalent rate was five cents. The major portion of the park's revenue, it will be readily observed, is not derived from the general admission fee, but rather from the charges to the various concessionaires who operated the amusement and entertainment devices which are the park's chief attractions.

Prior to 1934, White City, at 63d Street and South Park Avenue, provided similar amusement activities; the majority of its patrons came from the south side of the city. This park operated from 1904 until the fall of 1933. During 1937 White City activities comprised primarily the operation of a dance hall and roller rink, the promotion of boxing and wrestling, and provisions for bowling and basketball. Analyses of these various types of activities are distributed among the individual chapters in this Volume, since the White City Amusement Park, as such, is no longer licensed as a seventh-class amusement.

Riding Devices

Because so many attractions are concentrated within one location at Riverview Park, a large percentage of the city's patronage of mechanical riding devices, including merry-go-rounds, ferris wheels, tilt-a-whirls, chair-o-planes, and other miscellaneous rides, is reported at this amusement park. However, while 26 individual licenses of class 18 amusements, in which are included "all entertainments operated by motive power other


COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
LOCATIONS OF
LICENSED
MECHANICAL
RIDING DEVICES
-1937-
Numerals Indicate Number Of
Licensed Riding Devices
At Location
75 COMMUNITY NUMBERS
— COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES
SCALE: = 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY — 1937


COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
DISTRIBUTION OF
LICENSED
PENNY ARCADES
AND
GAMES OF SKILL
-1936-
Penny Arcades
Games Of Skill
75 COMMUNITY NUMBERS
— COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES
SCALE ⊢——⊣ = 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY — 1937

than animal power, including devices, apparatus, attractions and amusements for the transportation of persons,"[1] were issued to concessionaires at the Riverview Park address, an additional 72 licenses were issued to 34 different addresses; of these, 7 secured one license each, 17 two, 9 three licenses, and one four licenses. However, one company took out licenses at five different addresses, and three others at two each, reducing the number of different licensees to 27. With thirteen exceptions, the riding devices were moved from the locations for which licenses were originally issued. Eleven were moved once, 22 twice, 14 three times, 6 four times, 4 five times, and 2 seven times, making a total of 155 transfers. These changes occurred as follows during a six-month period: 3 in April, 26 in May, 55 (the peak) in June, 21 in July, 38 in August, and 11 in September, with one not specified. Seventy different locations are represented in the changes. Eleven places received one device, 36 two, 21 three, and 1 each four and five. The seventy locations are in thirty-four areas; area 15 led with 7, area 46 followed with 6. The seventy-two licenses were classified as 28 for merry-go-rounds, 23 for ferris wheels, 9 for tilt-a-whirls, 5 chair-o-planes, and one each aeroplane, kiddy ride and the whip, with 4 not specified.

A weekly rate of $2.00 is charged as a license fee for each device whereon the fare does not exceed 5 cents; $5.00 per week when the ride charge exceeds 5 cents but not 10 cents; and $10.00 per week where the fare charged is more than 10 cents. A total of $3,450.00 was paid to the city on the above basis, with 62 licenses issued on the $2.00 per week rate and 36 at $5.00.

The twenty-seven individual licensees who own the 72 devices, exclusive of Riverview, either provided all of the amusement devices for the various small carnivals conducted in various sections of the city throughout the summer months or had the concession for their particular device. The majority of the carnivals were conducted under the auspices of religious and nationality groups and several patriotic organizations. In the main their function is to provide funds either for a specific purpose or as regular income of the organization. There are no specific licenses required for the operation of carnivals which, according to state statute, are defined as follows: "The word 'carnival' shall mean and include an aggregation of attractions, whether shows, acts, games, vending devices or amusement devices, whether conducted under one or more managements or independently, which are temporarily set up or conducted in a public place or upon any private premises accessible to the public, with or without admission fee, and which, from the nature of the aggregation, attracts attendance and causes promiscuous intermingling of persons in the spirit of merry-making and revelry."[2] The same statute indicates that a written permit from the City Council is required for the operation of these attractions, and that the permit shall be granted upon the condition "that there shall not be set up or operated any gambling device, lottery, number or paddle wheel, number board, punch board, or other game of chance, or any lewd, lascivious or indecent show or attraction making an indecent exposure of the person or suggesting lewdness or immorality."[3] The City Council is empowered by the state statute to collect the necessary fees to pay the expense of investigation and policing of such carnivals and the police officers assigned are responsible for the enforcement of all provisions of the statute. A copy of the permit must be kept in the possession of the manager of the carnival to be produced upon request of the sheriff, police officer or private citizen. In the city of Chicago there is no specific ordinance dealing with carnivals, nor is there any license fee for this type of enterprise as the city secures its revenue from the taxation of the individual attractions which are licensed. However, on the basis of limited information it would appear that where streets are used for these carnivals, a permit is required from the commissioner of compensation. In the majority of the carnivals operated in 1937 there were many concessions which, while they were generally classed as games of skill, were popular chiefly because of their chance or gambling aspects. The carnival usually thrives in the more populous sections of the city containing large foreign population groups, remains at one location until it is no longer profitable, and then moves on to newer fields.

[1] *Revised Chicago Code of 1931*, ch. 36, art. 1, sec. 1893, class 18.

[2] *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Cahill and Moore, 1935), ch. 38, par. 71, sec. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, sec. 2.

Penny Arcades

The penny arcades or "all exhibitions consisting solely of moving pictures, known as mutoscope, kinetoscope, cinematograph, kaleidoscope, penny arcades and places in which amusement is furnished through or by one or more automatic picture devices or other similar devices,"[1] as they are defined in the city licensing ordinances, are constantly decreasing in importance in the city. There has been a marked decline in the total number of establishments. In 1926 there were seven of this type of amusement centers; in 1937 only three remained. Of these one was located in Riverview Amusement Park, the other two were found in the area south of Van Buren Street on State Street. The patronage comes primarily from two sources: transients, living in the various cheap hotels of the district, and curiosity-seeking youths. Very few women patronize the State Street establishments. The penny arcade is licensed as class 4 amusements with an annual fee of two hundred dollars. In the instance of the Riverview Park arcade, the fee was pro-rated for an eighteen-week season; the others paid the full amount.

Walk-Arounds

There were eleven licenses for sixteenth-class amusements in 1937. These included "all entertainments known as 'platform' or 'walk-around' shows, being shows for which no seats are provided for spectators, and all entertainments known as 'villages' of different nationalities."[2]

Five shows entitled "Aladdin's Castle," "Flaming Youth," "Platform No. 1," "Monkey Show," and "Kiddy Land," were located in Riverview Park. The licenses of the first four covered eighteen weeks and cost $36.00 each; the fifth was $34.00 for seventeen weeks. For all, the maximum charge was 10 cents.

The other six licenses were secured for three South State Street addresses. One proprietor had three licenses with maximum admission rates of 25 cents, two for twenty weeks each, and a third for thirteen weeks which was revoked by the city. Another South State Street proprietor obtained one license for ten weeks and another for twenty-three, also revoked. The license for the third State Street address covered fifty-two weeks with 25 cents admission. All license fees are based on a rate of $2.00 per week and totalled $454.00 during 1937. Two of the State Street owners had also obtained licenses in 1935 and 1936.

Games of Skill

Seven licenses of the seventeenth class were issued during 1937 for games of skill. All were for $5.00 each, and covered ten-week periods. They were for locations in seven different community areas. With one exception, retail liquor licenses were issued to the same addresses during 1937.

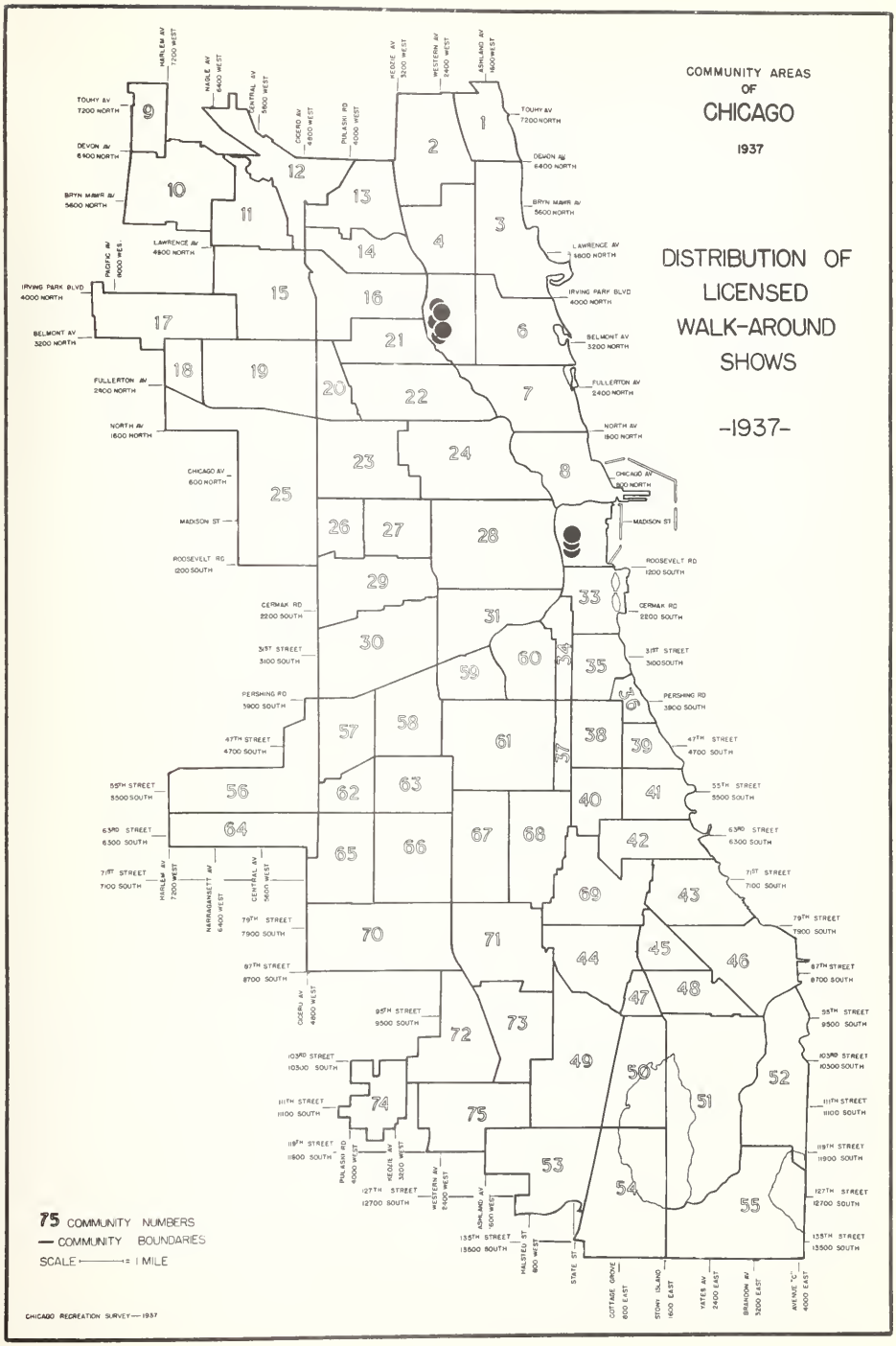
On January 25, 1937, the seventeenth class of amusements which included "all entertainments consisting of games of skill and strength testing devices, including lifting, blowing, striking or pulling machines, and all small swings operated by human power,"[3] was eliminated by the City Council. An amendment to the classification section of the ordinance now provides "Automatic amusement devices prohibited. It shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation to keep, or cause any of his or its agents or employees to keep, for gain or profit from operation, any amusement device the operation of which is governed or controlled by the deposit of a coin or token."[4]

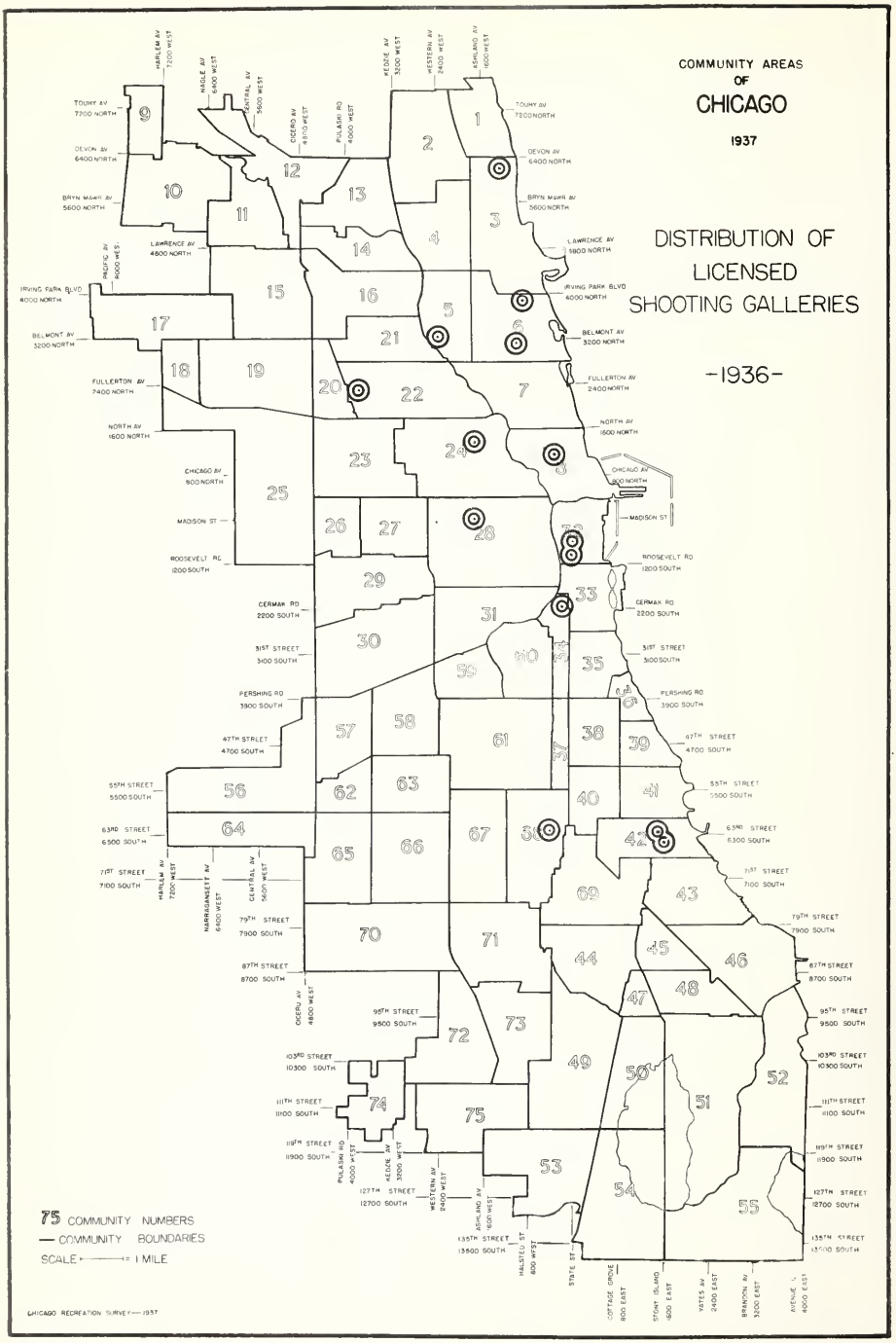
Picnic Groves

Eleven class 8 licenses for picnic groves were issued during 1937. With one exception, all covered twelve months, with an annual fee of $10.00. The six-month license for $5.00 is for the same address as one of the others. For eight of the addresses retail liquor licenses were also issued during 1937.

Nine of the same picnic groves had been licensed during 1936 and eight in 1935. One located in area 58 was licensed in both of the earlier years, but not in 1937. With the rapid increase of picnic facilities in the public forest preserves and parks, the commercial picnic grove is of less significance than heretofore; seemingly, however, the use of their various facilities such as dance floors, special game equipment and lighting, is sufficient to warrant their proprietors in maintaining their equipment and securing licenses. The twin facts that they are within the city and that

[1] *Revised Chicago Code of 1931*, ch. 36, art. 1, sec. 1893, class 4.
[2] *Ibid.*, class 16.
[3] *Ibid.*, class 17.
[4] *Council Proceedings*, Jan. 25, 1937, p. 3286, sec. 1893-A.


COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
DISTRIBUTION OF
LICENSED
WALK-AROUND
SHOWS
-1937-
75 COMMUNITY NUMBERS
— COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES
SCALE ⟵⟶ = 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY—1937


COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
DISTRIBUTION OF
LICENSED
SHOOTING GALLERIES
-1936-
75 COMMUNITY NUMBERS
— COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES
SCALE ⊢——⊣ = 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY — 1937

privacy is assured for the picnic parties which lease them are at least partially responsible for their continued existence.

Shooting Galleries

The commercial shooting galleries in the city of Chicago have never achieved a definite, established place among the more prominent amusement activities of the city. They are usually associated with amusement parks, various shows of the walk-around and penny arcade type, but occasionally are the sole occupants of stores. Shooting galleries in the city of Chicago are not classified by ordinance with other amusement attractions, but are grouped in the licensing and regulation of miscellaneous business occupations. This is due chiefly to the fact that private rifle ranges and gun clubs of the city are likewise so grouped and pay an annual license fee of $50.00. In 1910 there were 18 establishments licensed as shooting galleries. In 1919 the number had increased to 32. Since that time the maximum has never exceeded the 1931 figure of 17. In 1936 there were 14 licensed shooting galleries in the city of Chicago; three of these establishments were operated along with penny arcades.

The rates for the use of shooting galleries vary to some extent; however, a survey of several revealed a customary charge of 25 cents for 15 shots. Moving targets are provided in most shooting-gallery establishments. An adaptation of the shooting gallery was quite prevalent during 1936 and 1937 in the coin-operated devices embodying the electric eye principle. These were to be found generally in retail liquor establishments of the city, and were usually heavily patronized. The repeal of the seventeenth-class amusement devices and the prohibition against coin-operated amusements embodied in section 1893-A make this form of mechanical shooting gallery illegal.

The general patronage at the orthodox type of commercial shooting gallery is composed, to a large extent, of night-life and amusement-park devotees. In 1937 at a South State Street gallery one of the patrons was killed by the police after he had used a gun to attempt a robbery of the place, and several years ago a West Madison Street proprietor was murdered by his "patrons."

Circuses

After a long and colorful history the circus still retains a prominent place in the amusement world. Constantly adding unique and spectacular features to its more established attractions, the annual visit of the circus, preceded by the inevitable billboard posters, is eagerly awaited by young and old in hundreds of communities throughout the country. During recent years, probably because of consolidation and the elimination of the smaller independent units, the circus has grown both in number of attractions and, what is more significant, in patronage. With the increased size of the "greatest shows on earth," the trend is toward extended runs in strategically selected communities accessible by automobile from the surrounding country.

Even before its incorporation as a city, Chicago was visited (in September, 1836) by its first circus, and paid an admission charge of twenty-five cents. In July, 1853, P. T. Barnum, "the great," brought his circus for an engagement in the city, and was received enthusiastically. In the intervening years Chicago has become established as a "good circus town." All of the well-known circuses, Barnum and Bailey, Hagenback-Wallace, Sells-Floto and Cole Brothers, have included Chicago in their itineraries. For many years the Coliseum was annually the scene of one or more circuses, usually heralded by parades from the railroad yards through the Loop business district. In 1929 Ringling Brothers Circus constituted one of the attractions during the opening year of the Chicago Stadium. When in 1936 circuses were held simultaneously at the Stadium and the Coliseum, both attracted large crowds. In 1937 the Cole Brothers Circus drew during its stay 300,000 spectators, 70 per cent of whom were children. The Hagenback-Wallace attracted large crowds during its eighteen-day run at the Coliseum Ringling Brothers, Barnum and Bailey visited the city from July 31 to August 8, inclusive, and a total attendance of 90,000 was recorded. In December, under the auspices of the Shrine, a charity-promoted circus at the International Amphitheater, including outstanding acts from several circuses recruited from winter quarters, added another 200,000 to the number of Chicago circus-goers, a total of 600,000 in less than a year. On

each circus visit efforts are made to provide opportunities for underprivileged and handicapped children to witness the entire circus, and when this is not feasible some of the acts are brought to the institutions. Rates vary from 55 cents to $2.20 at most performances.

While the appeal of the Rodeo Wild West Show is not so widespread as the circus, events of this type are usually included in the annual sports calendar of the city. During some years they have been offered at Soldier Field; in 1937 the Rodeo was presented eighteen days in October at the Stadium with 143,000 spectators.

The annual Boy Scout circus, consisting for the most part of amateur acts of the 808 Scout Troops of the city, has in recent years been held over periods of a week at the International Amphitheater. The 1936 show attracted 14,000 spectators.

Circuses, menageries and wild west shows are grouped as thirteenth-class amusements by the city code, and as such are subject to the following license fees:

If it is intended to produce, offer or present entertainments of the 13th class only, and the place in which such entertainment is to be given has a seating capacity sufficient to accommodate more than six thousand persons, the license fee shall be one hundred fifty dollars per day; more than three thousand persons, but not more than six thousand persons, fifty dollars per day; more than one thousand five hundred persons, but not more than three thousand persons, thirty-five dollars per day; more than seven hundred fifty persons, but not more than one thousand five hundred persons, twenty-five dollars per day; more than four hundred persons, but not more than seven hundred fifty persons, ten dollars per day; not more than four hundred persons, ten dollars per month.[1]

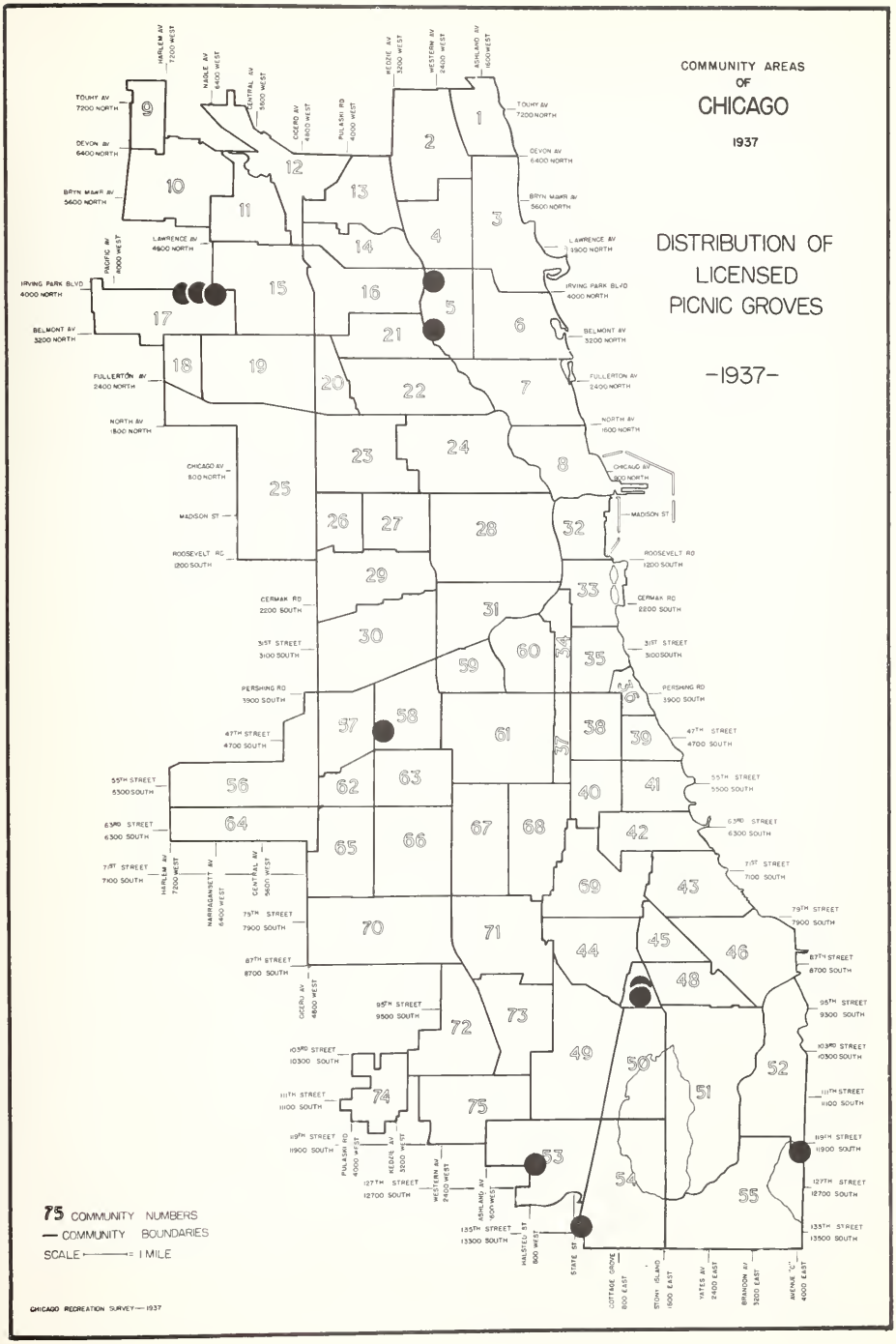
Endurance Contests

While endurance bicycle races have for a long time been a popular form of amusement, in recent years a wide variety of entertainment attractions featuring the endurance and freak aspects of many forms of activity have developed throughout the country. These range from rocking-chair tournaments and Bible-reading contests to adaptations of the marathon element to such popular forms of recreation as roller skating, dancing, running and swimming. Some of these attractions have been short-lived, such as the transcontinental "bunion" derby, in which more than $100,000 was distributed in purses and the promoters realized a substantial amount through the sale of programs and the contributions of local chambers of commerce in towns and cities through which the race was routed. The Lake Erie and Catalina Island swims provided similar inducements to contestants. Events such as these, however, are produced only at comparatively lengthy intervals, the major interest in endurance amusement attractions being concentrated in those contests or derbies which are housed at one location for the duration of the entire contest. It is this type of enterprise which has attracted a surprisingly substantial patronage. While the individual sport chosen for the contest may vary from year to year, the general conduct of the contests is essentially the same.

The majority of the endurance events in the city of Chicago are housed in the north hall of the Coliseum, although they are often held in the main section of this building. Records of the building management indicate that during 1937 the following events of this type were conducted at the Coliseum: A walkathon which began on December 25, 1936, ended on March 8, 1937; a roller derby ran for twenty-one days in April. At the present time (February, 1938), a walkathon is in progress which has endured for more than 138 days. The attendance during this period has exceeded 100,000. The rates of admission are regularly forty cents but cut-rate tickets at twenty-five cents are also issued.

In the skating type of endurance contest only one member of a team, consisting of a male and female skater, is required to compete at any given time during the day, and may relieve the other at fifteen-minute intervals. In the evening both partners skate, and special sprint races are provided in which teams attempt to lap the field to gain additional points. In the walkathons and dance marathons the practice generally is for both contestants to be on the floor for forty-five minutes out of each hour, and during the evening sprints are held for periods of from seven to twenty minutes. The contestants are disquali-

[1] *Revised Chicago Code of 1931*, ch. 36, art. 1. sec. 1897, class 13.


COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
DISTRIBUTION OF
LICENSED
PICNIC GROVES
-1937-
75 COMMUNITY NUMBERS
— COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES
SCALE ⟵⟶ = 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY — 1937

fied when one of them falls to the floor and is unable to rise within a short period. In all forms of these endurance contests the participants are encouraged to provide songs, dances, skits and "blackouts," to supplement their normal routines. In the majority of instances this is a primary means of income for many contestants, inasmuch as patrons indicate their approval by tossing coins on the floor much in the same manner as at some of the taverns of the city. In addition, business concerns sponsor many of the teams, paying a fee for advertising, both on the uniforms and programs. The contestants in the majority of the walkathons are fed as often as seven times each day, and their laundry is also provided by the management. It has been estimated that more than 100 people are employed during the show, including contestants, musicians, masters of ceremonies, judges, trainers and nurses, ticket-office employees, publicity personnel and kitchen help.

The following ordinance relating to marathon or endurance contests or exhibitions in places of public amusement was passed by the City Council July 30,[1] and published in the *Chicago Evening Post* on October 28, 1931:

Section 1. It shall be unlawful for any person, firm, corporation, club or association to conduct a so-called marathon or endurance contest participated in by dancers, skaters, or persons suspending themselves from great heights or in hazardous places, except in the latter case when required in the prosecution of building or repair work.

Section 2. Any person found guilty of violating this ordinance shall be fined not less than twenty-five ($25.00) dollars or more than two hundred ($200.00) dollars for each offense.

Section 3. This ordinance applies to proprietors, managers or lessors of halls or buildings used for such purposes, contestants, promoters, attendants and other persons participating in the conduct of the contest or the proceeds therefrom.

Section 4. Each day such contest operates shall constitute a new offense.

Section 5. This ordinance shall be in force and effect from and after its passage and approval.

[1] *City Council Proceedings*, 1931-1932, p. 933, secs. 1-5.

CHAPTER XVII

BALLROOMS AND DANCING SCHOOLS

Ballrooms

Various forms of dancing have provided recreation for millions of people throughout almost every period in the world's history and in every country in the world. As a result of such interest, it is only to be expected that dancing like other forms of amusement should take on commercial aspects in an age of business. Hence we are not surprised that above and beyond the purely private or domestic provision of opportunities for dancing, commercial establishments, including schools and studios, provide instruction not only in social or ballroom dancing, but also in the many professional or theatrical forms of the terpsichorean art. Other chapters in this Volume, particularly those related to retail liquor establishments and cabarets, have indicated the importance of the dance at least as an auxiliary feature to attract patronage. These chapters make it clear that while the more highly regarded resorts provide dancing attractions in which grace and skill are important components, on the other hand in many establishments the "dance acts" derive their chief appeal from the suggestiveness and vulgarity of the bodily movements. This chapter is concerned primarily with those establishments the major function of which is the provision of social dancing opportunities including the various commercial dancing schools in the city. In discussing the growth of the commercial dance hall, Steiner in *Americans at Play* brings out that:

"Prior to the enactment of the federal prohibition law, saloon keepers frequently maintained a large hall adjacent to their premises, which was utilized for both public and private dances, their profits coming largely from the sale of liquor to the participants. Later, independently operated halls with a minimum of equipment and often poorly supervised came into existence and proved to be successful business ventures. More recently it has been found profitable to operate well-equipped ballrooms in which dances open to the public are held each night with music furnished by a popular orchestra that may broadcast its numbers while the dance is in progress. With the development of these so-called dance palaces capable of accommodating several thousands of people, the small, unattractive hall is becoming less common."[1]

Today throughout the entire United States, in large metropolitan areas and in easily accessible rural communities as well, may be found buildings specifically erected as dance halls. These vary from the temporary wooden structures prevalent along the highway in summer resort regions to the modern air-conditioned specially lighted ballrooms operating primarily in the larger cities but also found to a lesser extent in the more affluent small industrial communities.

In Chicago there is no exclusive legal classification for dance halls as such. In grouping places of amusement for licensing purposes the city ordinances include in the fifth class "dances, amateur theatrical entertainments, bazaars and other entertainments of like character engaged in or carried on in any hall, structure or building." Frequently the total number of licensed establishments in this classification is regarded erroneously as the total number of commercial dance halls. Indeed, Steiner in commenting upon the trend in Chicago accepted this figure as the basis for his observations, pointing out that commercial dance halls in Chicago "declined from 315 in 1910 to 225 in 1930, while the total capacity increased." But this is somewhat wide of the mark.

The ordinance provides further that the fees for licensing such establishments shall be as follows:

"The places where entertainments of the 5th class are conducted, managed or carried on shall be licensed according to floor space. The license fees shall be as follows:

"Twenty-five dollars for not over twenty-four hundred square feet of floor space; two dollars for each additional one hundred square feet of floor space or fraction thereof; provided, however, that the maximum license fee required for 5th

[1]Jesse F. Steiner, *Americans at Play* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1933), ch. 6, pp. 112-113.

class amusements shall in no case exceed the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars; provided, further, that no license fee shall be required for any hall used occasionally for entertainments of the 5th class where such hall is located in a church edifice, or is maintained in connection with or as a part of the religious work of a church or religious society or in connection with a public or parochial school. In computing floor space, aisle space, space between walls and partitions of such place and balcony space shall be included."[1]

It will be observed that licensing data for fifth-class halls not only fail to identify dancing establishments as such, but do not differentiate between establishments operating on a regularly scheduled basis and those which are rented or leased only for special occasions. Among the 212 licenses issued in 1937, 51 were taken out by nationality groups and fraternal organizations, 5 by organizations listed as clubs, 1 by a hotel, 6 by labor organizations; only 20 were issued specifically to ballrooms and 2 for open-air dance halls. One hundred and twenty-seven were issued under the general classification of 'halls' to individuals and building managements. This latter number included many of the smaller places, that is, nearly 76 per cent of the total number which pay the minimum license fee. These 127 establishments also included 81 per cent of the 82 halls for which retail liquor licenses were issued during the first half of 1937. Other fifth-class establishments with retail liquor licenses included the hotel, 1 club, 5 nationality group halls and 8 ballrooms. In addition twenty-six retail liquor licenses were issued to the same addresses as the halls, but not to the same licensees. In several instances these represented concessions, and in other cases the hall was situated in a separate location in the same building.

From the above it will be observed that by far the greater majority of fifth-class halls are not commercial dance halls. Data gathered by the field staff of the Survey reveal that the greater number of the fifth-class halls had no regular daily or weekly program under the sponsorship of the licensee, but were rented out in varying degree to private groups for dances, card parties, amateur theatrical performances and wedding celebrations. That the smaller type of hall is being replaced by larger establishments is indicated by a comparison of the seating capacities of halls licensed in 1926 and in 1935. In the earlier year more than 27 per cent of the total number accommodated less than 200 persons, whereas in 1935 this minimum capacity comprised less than 20 per cent of the total licenses issued. The average capacity increased from 464 to 557 persons in the same period. It is interesting to note that while the number of licenses issued in 1926 and in the four years from 1934 through 1937 were respectively 253, 225, 278, 207 and 212, a total of 1,175 individual licenses or an annual average of 235, more than 428 different establishments were comprised in this total. Ninety-six halls or 22.4 per cent were licensed during each of the 5 years, 81 for 4 years, 37 for 3 years, 46 for 2 years, and 168 for one year only. One hundred and two of the halls licensed for one year only were included in the 1926 total. Only 13 of the 212 licensed halls in 1937 were not included in any of the previous years. Hence considerable continuity and apparently fairly permanent patronage may be deduced.

The 1937 licenses were distributed among 48 community areas, more than one-fifth of the total being located in areas 24 (with 25 halls), and 61, (with 22 fifth-class licenses).

Community area	*Number of halls*
2, 4, 9, 10, 11, 13, 17, 18, 33, 36, 39, 40, 41, 43, 45, 48, 50, 54, 56, 64, 65, 66, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75	None
12, 15, 19, 20, 27, 35, 44, 47, 49, 51, 57, 62, 63, 67, 71	1
1, 34, 52, 55	2
3, 14, 16, 21, 25, 32, 59, 60, 69	3
5, 8, 23, 26, 28, 29, 37, 38, 53	4
22, 42	5
6, 68	6
46	7
7, 58	11
30	13
31	15
61	22
24	25

The licensed halls ranged in size from 570 to 33,800 square feet. Fifty-three per cent of the halls licensed in 1937 were 2,400 square feet or under, 27 per cent were in the licensed classification between 2,401 and 4,000 square feet, 11 per cent from 4,001 to 6,400 feet and only 9 per cent over 6,400 square feet. With the graduated scale

[1] *Revised Chicago Code, 1931,* ch. 36, art. 1, sec. 1897, as amended.

utilized in licensing, 43 different rates were reported in 1937, ranging from $25.00 paid by over fifty per cent of the owners, to $250.00 (the legal maximum) paid by seven licensees. Aggregate twenty-five dollar fees amounted to over 27 per cent of the total $10,210.30 receipts. Twenty owners paid over a hundred dollars each, or 33 per cent of the total. One hundred and eighty-one owners paid annual fees; 20 paid in two six-month installments; nine paid for only one six-month license. Included in the total is a minor item of $48.30 paid for two open-air dance pavilions licensed for 13 and 16 weeks, respectively. It has not been possible to ascertain the total number of unlicensed locations serving as fifth-class halls. It is significant, however, that included with this group are halls used by political organizations for meetings and general headquarters in the various wards. Frequently such locations are rented to private organizations for dances and other social events. Although no separate classification of license is required for dance halls, the city ordinances do require that special information be provided by applicants for licenses for fifth-class halls which are to be used for dance hall purposes. However, according to the limited information obtainable all prospective fifth-class hall licensees are called upon to supply the data in accordance with the following section of the law:

1895. Dance hall license.] Each applicant for a license to conduct a dance hall shall, in addition to the requirements of the preceding section, fill out truthfully a form provided by the commissioner of police which shall include answers and information on the following points: Name, residence, citizenship, employment or business of applicant in previous five years, whether or not the applicant was ever convicted of a felony or misdemeanor, whether or not the applicant owns real estate and the value of same; and such applicant shall also give three references who are householders in the city of Chicago; whereupon such application shall be referred to the said commissioner of police for investigation as to the moral status of the applicant and the moral conditions surrounding the proposed location, and the said commissioner of police shall transmit to the mayor the result of his investigation, and no license shall be issued for such dance hall until the mayor has approved such application.[1]

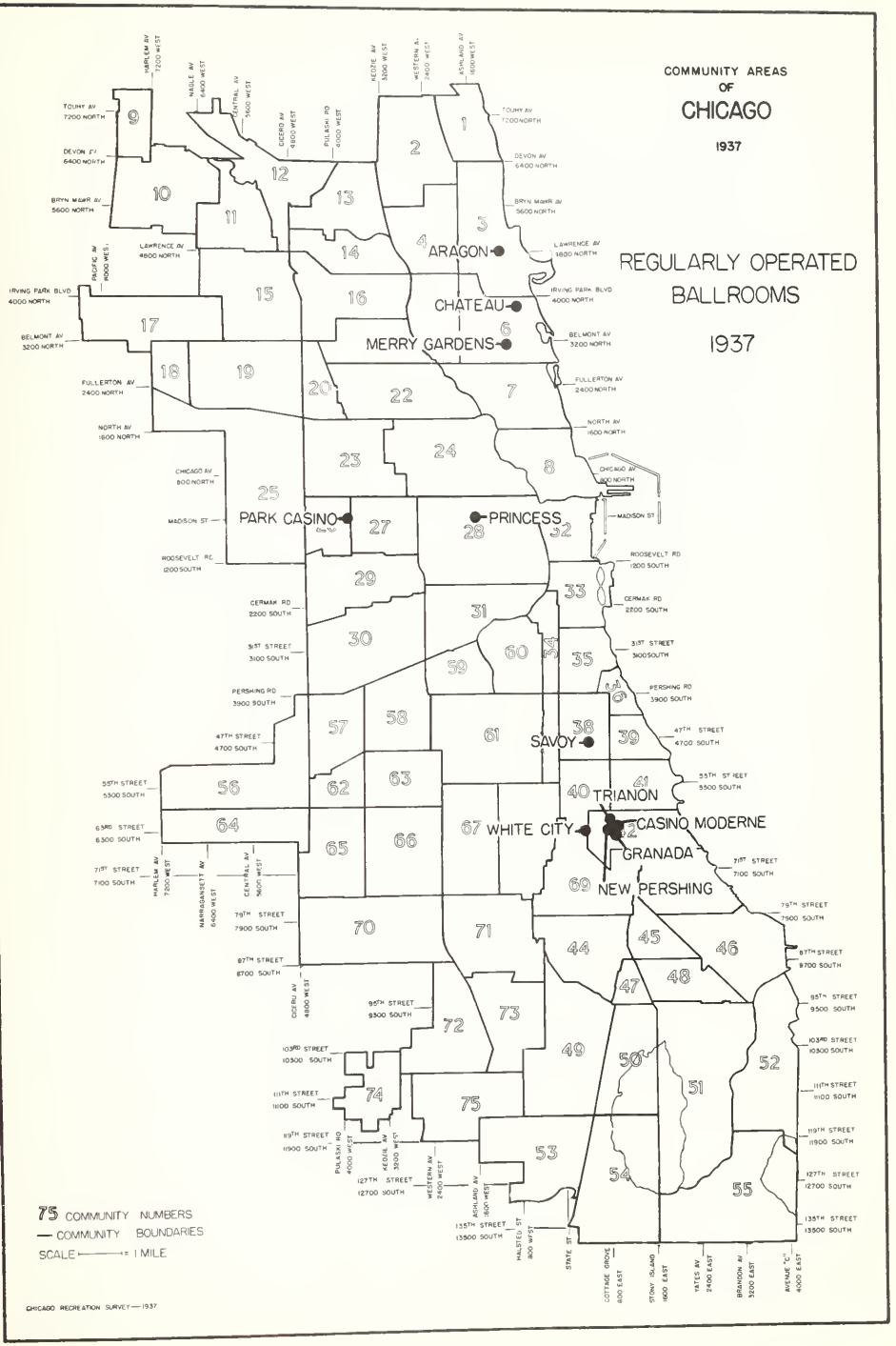
[1]*Revised Chicago Code of 1931*, ch. 36, art. 1, sec. 1895.

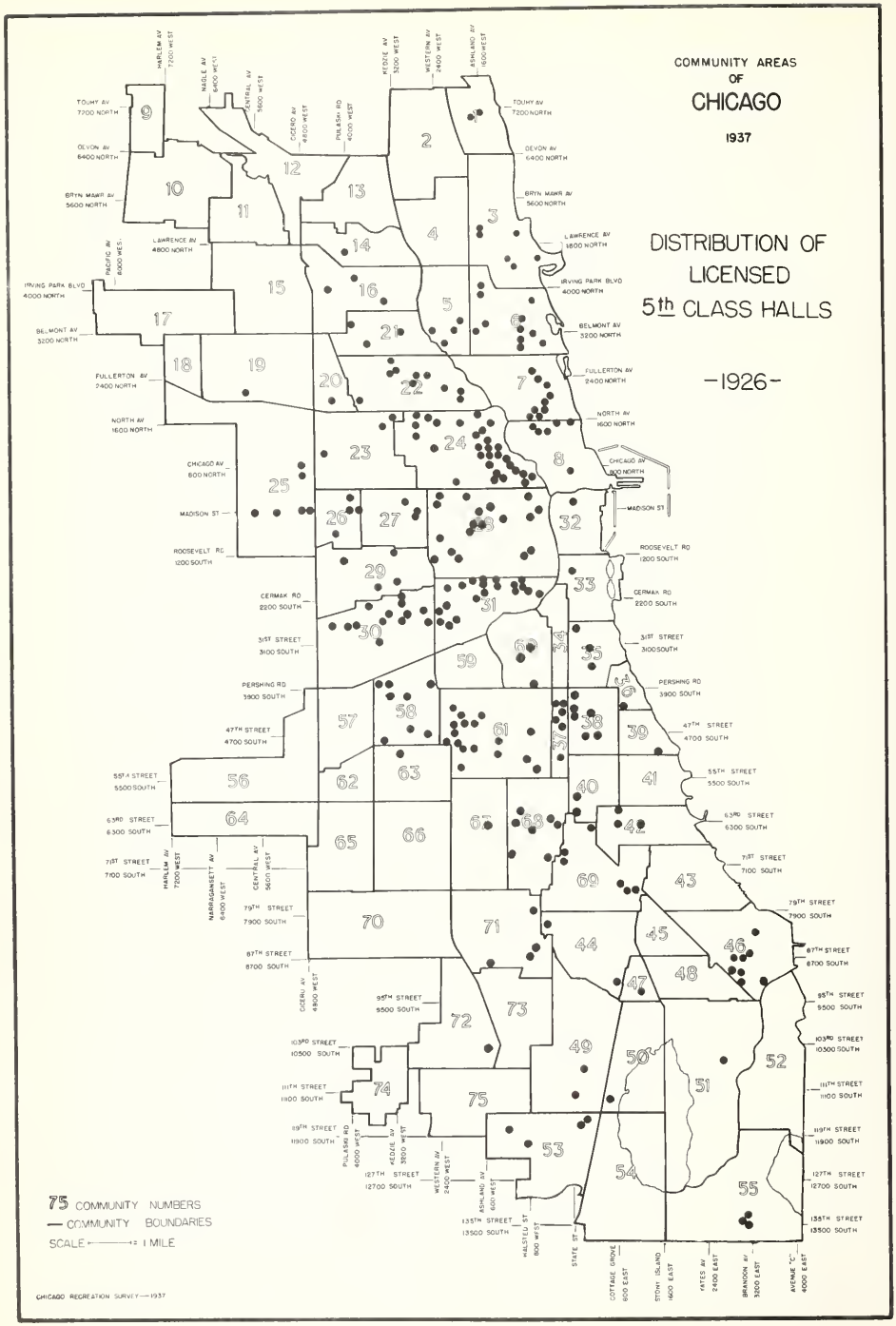
Chicago permits commercial social dancing legally in 324 retail liquor establishments and in 31 licensed cabarets and night clubs, a total of 355 licensed liquor establishments with varying facilities for dancing. If establishments in the same group which are not licensed for dancing be included the total is much larger. When it is grasped that it is frequently possible for patrons, particularly women, to spend an entire evening in one of these places for the price of a glass of beer, it is not difficult to understand why Chicago supports comparatively few established ballrooms. During 1937 but three ballrooms were operated the full six-day week. (Such establishments have long observed a darkened Monday night.) Only six other ballrooms operated more than two days each week, and a regular schedule of dancing was provided only on Sundays at the city's major colored ballroom. The schedules of operation and areas of these establishments were as follows:

*Name**	*Schedule*	*Area in square feet*
Trianon	Nightly except Monday	29,580
Aragon	Nightly except Monday	21,036
Casino Moderne	Nightly except Monday	8,100
Granada	Wednesday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday	6,200
White City	Wednesday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday	33,800
Merry Gardens	Tuesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday	14,355
New Pershing	Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday, Sunday	7,175
Chateau	Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday	6,600
Park Casino	Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday	13,593
Savoy (colored)	Sunday	12,500
Princess	Tuesday, Saturday, Sunday	8,500

*Guyon's Paradise Ballroom and several others are not included, inasmuch as they were not operating when this study was completed.

Of these, the Aragon and Trianon are internationally renowned, due to some extent to the broadcasting of their dance music by several of the city's larger radio stations. These two establishments also represent the greatest investments, each having been especially designed as ballrooms, with air conditioning and other modern improvements. The Savoy ballroom, on the city's south side is one of the finest ballrooms for negroes in the whole United States, and compares favorably with the better dance halls of the city.


COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
REGULARLY OPERATED
BALLROOMS
1937
ARAGON
CHATEAU
MERRY GARDENS
PARK CASINO
PRINCESS
SAVOY
TRIANON
CASINO MODERNE
GRANADA
WHITE CITY
NEW PERSHING
75 COMMUNITY NUMBERS
COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES
SCALE 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY—1937


COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
DISTRIBUTION OF
LICENSED
5th CLASS HALLS
-1926-
75 COMMUNITY NUMBERS
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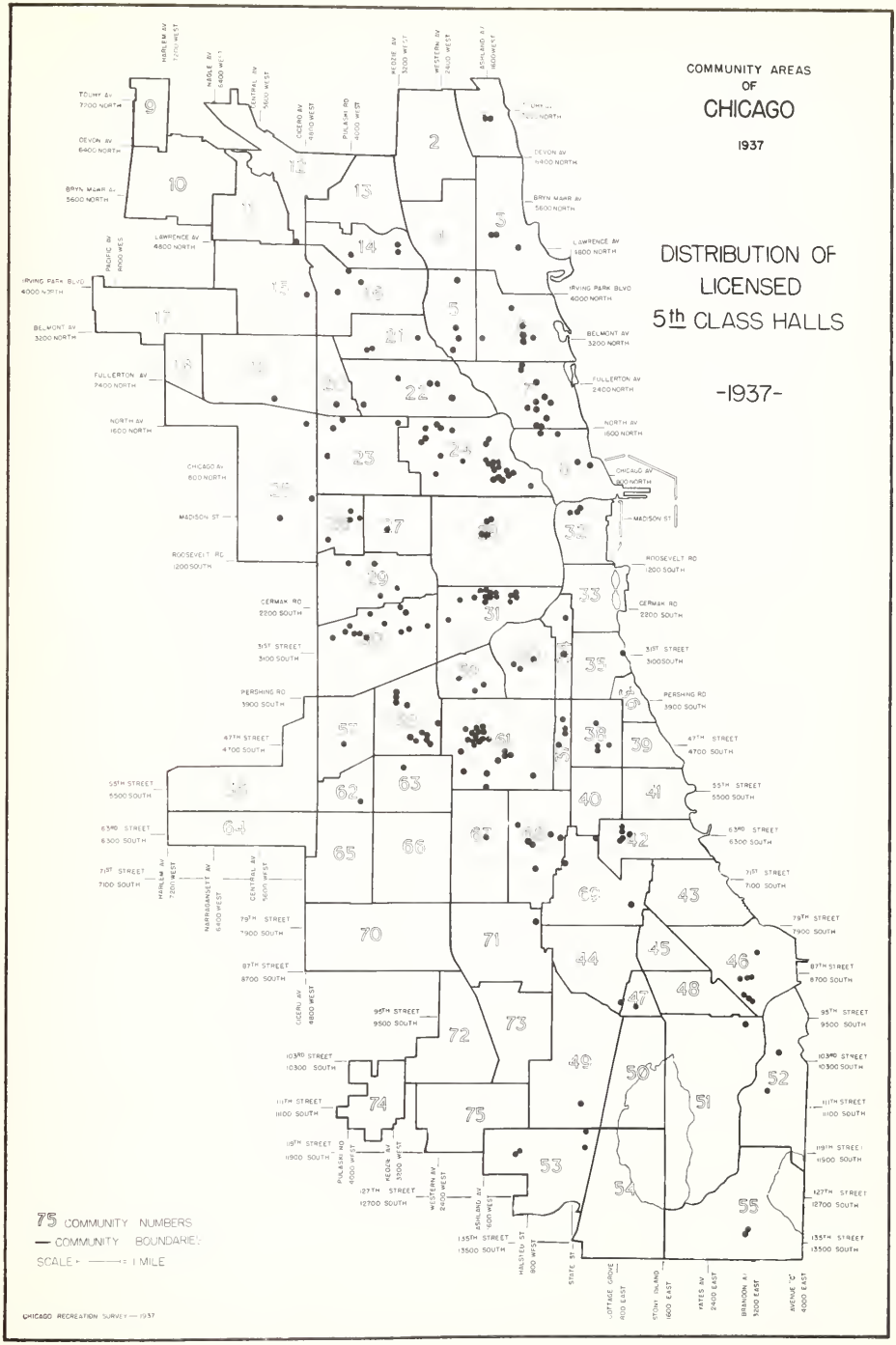
SCALE ←——→ 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY—1937


COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
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1937
DISTRIBUTION OF
LICENSED
5th CLASS HALLS
-1937-
75 COMMUNITY NUMBERS
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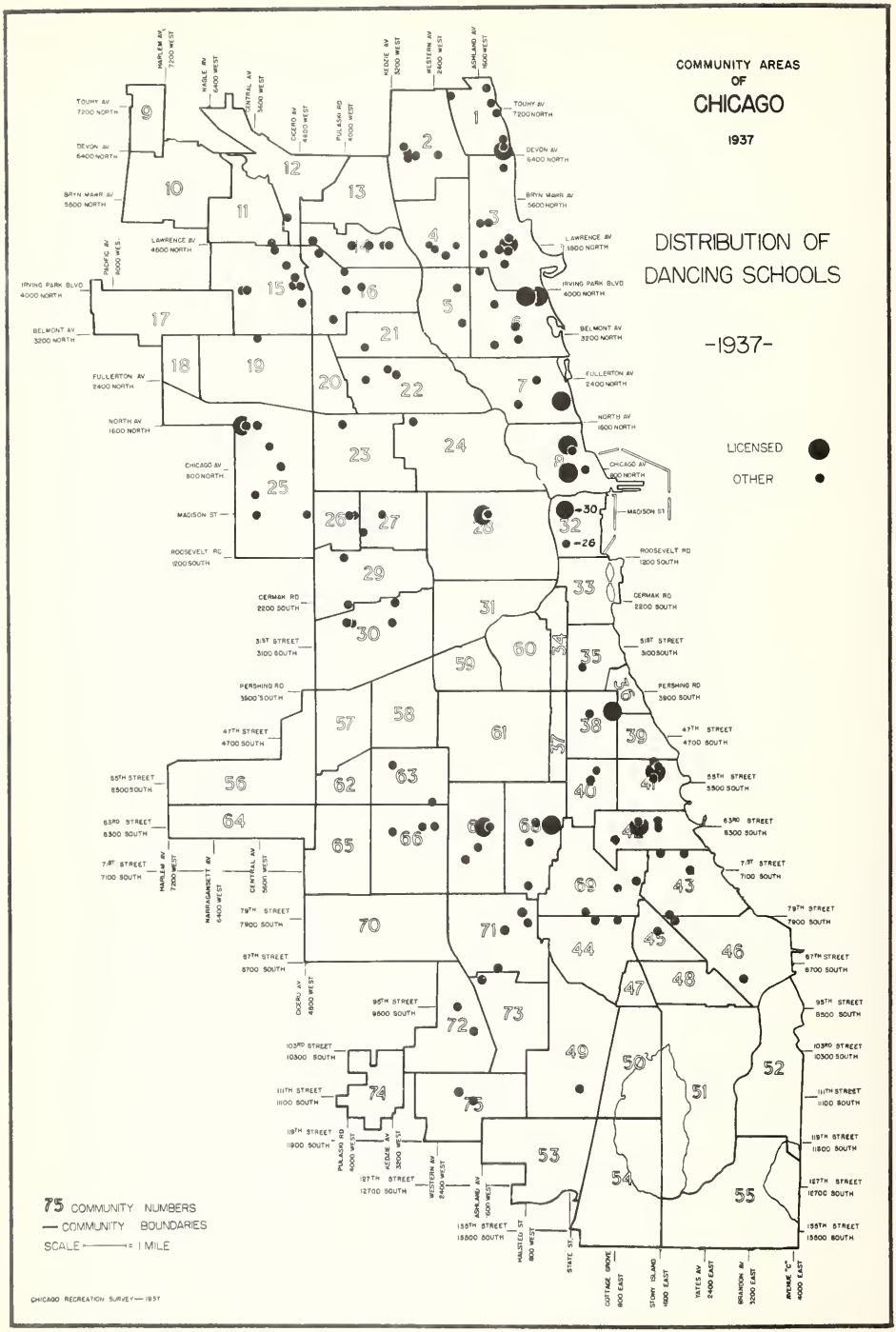
SCALE: —— = 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY — 1937


COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
DISTRIBUTION OF
DANCING SCHOOLS
-1937-
LICENSED
OTHER
75 COMMUNITY NUMBERS
— COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES
SCALE ——— = 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY — 1937

The rates of admission at Chicago's ballrooms vary from the 25 cents on Tuesday nights at the Princess to the $1.25 charge for men Saturday and Sunday nights at the Aragon and Trianon. Week-day rates at these two establishments, also higher than any prevalent at the other ballrooms, are 65 cents for women and 99 cents for men. On Saturday and Sunday the rate for women is 75 cents. The most frequent admission charge in the city is 40 cents which is in effect at five locations.

According to those long familiar with the dance hall situation in Chicago, a distinction should be made in discussing those establishments dependent almost entirely upon admission charges for revenue and those in which the sale of liquor provides a substantial share of the income. While several of the former serve light wines and beer at tables in their tearooms, they do not have bars. Although the establishments which make elaborate provisions for the sale of liquor indicate by signs "no liquor sold to minors," it has been observed that it is not difficult for even youthful patrons to make purchases at bars. The contrast between the better type of ballrooms not serving liquor and the liquor dance hall is more striking than the difference between these latter establishments and taverns providing dance music. Indeed, liquor dance halls have sometimes been referred to as "taverns with large dance floors," although the fact that an admission charge is made does provide a real distinction. The managements of all ballrooms operating in Chicago encourage the presence of unattached women, and indeed in most instances offer a lower box-office rate for them. In establishments catering primarily to those who attend a ballroom to dance, despite the prevailing informal atmosphere through which opportunities are provided for strangers to become acquainted, the majority of patrons seem more interested in the dancing itself and less in "pick ups" or after-the-dance "dates" than is the practice in those establishments where liquor and low admission rates are in evidence. Since the repeal of prohibition the more undesirable groups who formerly patronized the better type of ballroom have transferred their field of activity to the tavern or lower type ballrooms.

There is a wide range in the pattern of conduct permitted patrons at the various ballrooms. Speaking by and large it appears that objectionable dancing is tolerated less by the managements of the larger establishments, and closer supervision is provided by them over the various lounges and balconies. Because of their prominence and reputation the larger ballrooms draw patronage from all sections of the city. One south side establishment caters to what is termed the "middle-aged group." To stimulate patronage and in some degree to fill the requests of patrons, certain ballrooms designate various nights of the week for emphasis on particular types of dancing. Free instruction is also sometimes provided ordinarily during the early part of the week. These lessons are directed by recognized teachers, usually members of the Chicago Dancing Masters Association. To recruit a sufficient number of qualified partners to assist in these lessons, passes and other special privileges are provided by the managements. Not only are the fundamentals of dancing given to the beginner, but new dance steps are introduced as various "rages" and "fads" succeed each other in popularity.

Dancing Schools

Specialized dancing schools and studios scattered throughout the city supplement the commercial ballrooms and other locations where dancing opportunities are provided. In 1937 more than 180 such establishments were advertised in the classified section of the Chicago telephone directory. According to information provided by the Chicago Dancing Masters Association, with which the majority of the more prominent instructors are affiliated, approximately 10 per cent of the total number of studios devote almost all of their instruction to theatrical dancing. An additional 5 per cent are generally regarded as children's dancing schools, with students up to the age of 18. The remainder, according to this same source, accept both adults and juveniles; and most of them, in addition to teaching ballroom dancing, include other types of choreography in their courses. Recently public interest in the health conditioning values inherent in various forms of tap and other forms of theatrical dancing has resulted in demands for more instruction of this type. Much of the increased activity in these fields may also be attributed to motion pictures featuring outstanding

dance artists. Instruction is frequently provided at studios established in the residences of the individual instructors. In many instances, the larger and more established dancing schools are housed in specially equipped studios with dressing rooms, showers and other similar accessories. The distribution of the 180 establishments which have been used in the foregoing analysis is as follows:

Community area	*Number of schools*
32	42
3	9
15	8
1, 6, 25	7
2, 16	6
14	5
4, 8, 22, 30, 41, 42, 43, 63, 67, 71	4
26, 66, 68, 69	3
5, 7, 27, 29, 38, 40, 44, 46, 72, 75	2
11, 12, 19, 21, 23, 24, 28, 35, 45, 49, 73	1

The majority of the Loop locations are of two types: theatrical and ballroom. The latter group are concerned primarily with adults, although the patronage of children is not completely discouraged.

It is logical that the majority of dance studios for children should be located near residential districts. A great many such establishments, therefore, are found in the outlying business areas of the city, particularly in those communities where the economic status of the residents permits the encouragement of this type of instruction. Many of these studios provide frequent recitals in which the entire student body takes part. On some occasions special shows composed of these pupils are offered as parts of the stage entertainment at some of the city's larger theatres. This is particularly true during the Christmas and Easter holidays when there is no interference with the regular school day, hence no violations of the various codes for the protection of juveniles.

The rates at the various established dancing schools in the city are not standardized. However, while there may be exceptions, in general the minimum for class lessons is 50 cents, the maximum $1.50, with usually a one-hour lesson supplemented by an hour of class practice. In both classroom dancing and social dancing the rates for individual private lessons vary from $1.50 up to $4.00 for a half-hour. The prominence of the instructor and the particular social group attracted are factors in determining these latter rates. Often special introductory rates for a series of ten lessons are offered to promote patronage. No worthwhile estimate can be made of the total actual number who are taught through these various establishments, but the fact that they continue to exist and even grow numerically would seem to imply that they are profitable ventures. They must compete, however, with most of the larger ballrooms which provide free instruction at certain periods of the week.

Since May 23, 1932, dancing schools have been licensed among miscellaneous occupations. It will be observed in the following statutes that with the exception of dancing schools engaged exclusively in giving dancing lessons to children under sixteen years of age, each establishment where dancing instruction is provided for a fee is required to secure a license.[1]

3355. Dancing school defined.] The term "dancing school" as used in this article shall be construed to mean any building, room, enclosure, premises, place or establishment in the City of Chicago where instruction in the art of dancing or dancing lessons are given and where a charge or fee for such instruction or lessons is made, paid or received.

3355a. License required.] No person, firm, association or corporation shall manage, conduct, operate or carry on any dancing school in the city without first having obtained a license as hereinafter provided. Provided, however, that the provisions of this article shall not apply to a dancing school engaged exclusively in giving dancing lessons to children under sixteen years of age.

3355b. Application for license—fee.] Any person, firm or corporation desiring to conduct a dancing school as defined in section 3355 shall make application in writing therefor which shall conform to the general provisions of this ordinance relating to applications for licenses, and shall state the place of business now used or proposed to be used for such purpose by said applicant and the number of instructors now employed or to be employed. Upon receipt of such application, the commissioner of police shall cause such investigation to be made as in his judgment is necessary to ascertain that the applicant is of good character before the issuance of the license, and the president of the board of

[1] *Revised Chicago Code of 1931*, ch. 67, art. 6, sec. 3355-3357, as amended.

health shall cause an investigation to be made as required by Section 3355c. Such application shall then be forwarded, together with the recommendations of the commissioner of police and the president of the board of health, to the mayor, whereupon the mayor, in his discretion in case such recommendations are favorable, shall cause a license to be issued to such applicant upon the payment of the license fee herein provided for.

The annual license fee for each school licensed under the provisions of this Article shall be based on the number of instructors engaged therein and shall be as follows:

3 instructors or less	$ 25.00
4 or 5 instructors	50.00
6 to 10 instructors	100.00
Over 10 instructors	500.00

3355c. Sanitary requirements.] The president of the board of health may cause such investigation to be made by the health department as in his judgment is deemed necessary for the purpose of determining whether the premises occupied by the said applicant comply with the city ordinances relating to health, safety and sanitation so as to properly safeguard the lives and health of the employees engaged, or pupils receiving their instruction therein; and if from such investigation, he finds that any person, firm, association or corporation operating such dancing school has failed to comply with the sanitary and health regulations of the city, or with the general ordinances thereof relating to such business, he shall forthwith report same in writing to the mayor, who may require the closing up of such place of business, or, in case it is licensed as a dance hall, revoke the license for same.

3355d. License period.] All licenses issued under the provisions of this article shall expire on the 31st day of December following the date of issuance, and no such licenses shall be issued except for the full license period and for the full license fee as herein provided.

3356. Revocation of license.] If, at any time after the granting of such license, the president of the board of health shall certify to the mayor that the health of the public or of pupils taught in such dancing school, or of persons employed therein, is endangered by the maintainance of such dancing school in such building, room, enclosure, premises, place or establishment or if the commissioner of police shall certify to the mayor that immoral or suggestive dancing is permitted in or upon the said premises or any other immoral conduct is indulged in, the mayor may forthwith revoke the license therefor.

3357. Penalty.] Any person, firm, association or corporation violating or failing to comply with any of the provisions of this *article* shall be fined not less than twenty-five dollars nor more than two hundred dollars for each offense; and every day that any violation of this *article* shall continue shall constitute a separate and distinct offense.

In 1937, 41 locations or less than one-fourth of the advertised establishments were licensed as dancing schools in the city of Chicago. In 1936, 44 studios secured licenses. Thirty, or 68 per cent of the 1936 total were located in the Loop. Seventy per cent of the number of licensed dance studios in 1936 comprised establishments with three instructors or less. Eight schools paid the maximum fee of $100, and thus contributed more than 57.6 per cent of the total license receipts ($1,390) for the year. As the result of a purely informal co-operative arrangement, without any official status, the police commissioner has for several years referred all new or transfer applications for dance halls and dancing schools to the Juvenile Protective Association. This agency then makes available to the Police Department any pertinent information it may have regarding the location or the prospective licensee; the recommendation and the full responsibility for the authorization for the license, however, rest with the Police Commissioner.

Taxi-Dance Halls

The fact that music studios and theatrical schools are not subjected to any licensing by the city should indicate to some extent at least that the licensing of dance studios is not so much a means of revenue as a regulatory measure directed against certain problems which could not be controlled through the dance hall or fifth-class licensing provisions. One such problem is provided by what is known as the "taxi-dance hall," which from 1920 or thereabouts increased both in number and in patronage until its existence became so obnoxious to the reform element in the community as well as to those associated in the promotion of more acceptable types of dancing establishments, that the foregoing statutes were enacted ostensibly at least to curb this institution and, if possible, to eliminate it entirely.

Taxi-dance halls, otherwise known as closed dance halls, differ from the regular ballroom in

that their patronage is exclusively male, the halls employing girls to serve as dance partners. These taxi dancers are usually employed on a commission basis and share in the ten-cent charge for each dance, which often consists only of two brief sections of some popular tune "played fast." According to Paul Cressey's study of the taxi-dance hall (published in 1932), the rise of this type of amusement resort can be attributed to two or three facts: (1) in every large city there is a large floating unassimilated male population who find themselves unsuited to participate in the more generally accepted social amenities; (2) following the prohibition of the old saloon the number of places of amusement for this group was greatly reduced; (3) the first taxi-dance halls wherein young women were paid to dance with anyone who could pay the ten-cent charge accepted men of all races, except the negro. For a time this type of establishment was particularly prominent on the near north side, with considerable patronage by the Flipinos of the city. Almost at once certain problems emerged because of promiscuity between patrons and employees of these establishments and also because as competition increased among the individual taxi-dance halls the type of dancing permitted degenerated to the grossest levels. Amongst other startling innovations designed to lure patronage was the elimination of all but the barest essentials in the dress of the women dancers and in many instances the abandonment of any semblance of dancing whatsoever in favor of crude sexual bodily motions. As a result of considerable newspaper publicity, describing these unsavory situations the dancing school ordinance was placed on the statute books. Since that time, however, although the number has been greatly reduced, and although many establishments have located outside the city limits to avoid the law, the taxi-dance hall as such still has continued to exist in Chicago.

Several of these resorts have been licensed as dancing schools and advertise for patronage quite openly. One of the more prominent State Street locations even employed the services of a sound truck for this purpose, blaring forth the fact that there were "75 charming instructresses" awaiting at its location. Others include advertisements in the theatrical news magazines distributed freely at hotels and other places where unattached men, potential customers, are to be found. In a single issue of one of these magazines a half-page advertisement welcomed conventioneers to the city, and pointed out that "80 beautiful girls to instruct you in an entertaining manner" were to be on hand at an establishment open until 3:00 A.M. Admission, including three dances and wardrobe, was announced as 40 cents. A competitor also located in the heart of the theatrical district, open from 9:00 P.M. until 2:30 A.M., with a similar admission rate extended an equally warm welcome with the notation that there were "charming girls to instruct you at no extra cost" at his dancing academy. Ironically enough, several of these establishments have been licensed during past years as dancing studios; this in spite of the fact that, according to reliable information, when any doubt exists an affidavit is required by the Police Department of prospective dancing school licensees to the effect that the dancing schools which they operate will not be of the taxi-dance type. It is readily admitted that the number of individuals who patronize taxi-dance halls actually to learn to dance is exceedingly small; therefore these establishments can hardly be regarded technically as obtaining money under false pretenses if they fail to provide such instruction.

Many patrons of taxi-dance halls are transferring their activity to the tavern, particularly those frequented by unattached women. As a result, the taxi-dance hall is no longer so significant a recreation agency as during pre-repeal days. With this decline in the importance of the taxi-dance hall, most of the social problems associated with dancing schools in Chicago are being materially reduced. However, it should be pointed out that in some few instances, where dancing studios with one or two instructresses are located in small suites in Loop office buildings, these establishments have not always functioned as dancing schools. Frequently the name "dancing school" has been used merely as a "front" for prostitution, a situation much resembling what existed in the massage parlor business several years ago.

CHAPTER XVIII

RETAIL LIQUOR ESTABLISHMENTS AND CABARETS

Retail Liquor Establishments

The fact that each year Americans expend more than three-fourths of a billion dollars for soda water confections at drug store fountains and a billion dollars for cigarettes, or that a billion and a quarter pounds of candy are required to fill the nation's demand for sweets, may raise a question as to the propriety of disregarding those businesses while including a discussion of establishments licensed by federal, state and local governments as retail liquor agencies of one kind or another. It should be understood, therefore, that for the purpose of this chapter the discussion of retail liquor establishments is concerned with the various types of business organizations built around the sale of liquor which provide a considerable proportion of the social life of millions of Americans. There is no unanimity of opinion regarding the recreational values of participation in such social activities, nor has any agreement been reached on the physical and mental effects of the use of intoxicants themselves. Yet it is generally admitted that retail liquor establishments of one form or another have for centuries provided, however dubiously, for the leisure time of millions the world over. That the attitudes toward liquor have varied from time to time in many countries is clear, for history reveals that prohibition of intoxicating beverages has often resulted from public disapproval of conditions surrounding and resulting from the sale of liquor. It must be added, however, that frequently these prohibitory measures are subsequently repealed, but in some instances, later reinstated by another swing of public opinion.

In the United States the passage of the eighteenth amendment in 1918 and its subsequent repeal through the passage of the twenty-first amendment bring close to home the effect of this changing attitude on the part of a people toward liquor and the establishments built around it. When, as a result of the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act, the sale of intoxicating liquors was prohibited, many ardent "drys" were of the opinion that through this legislation the liquor problem would be eliminated completely and that Americans would find other types of activity to supplant drinking as a leisure-time pursuit. However, the fourteen years of prohibition were marked by open flouting of the law on the part of many elements of the population who opposed the amendment for a variety of reasons. Increasing numbers of people drank whatever liquor they could buy or manufacture. Because of this fact, it was only logical that with the opportunity for profit there should develop throughout the country a group who, capitalizing on this situation, became commercially interested in the provision of liquors illicitly manufactured within the United States or smuggled over its borders from other countries.

The tremendous scale on which this illegal business developed made it impossible for it to be conducted without the knowledge of authorities responsible for the enforcement of the various federal, state, county and local laws. In view of the vast margins of profit in this "alky game" it was to be expected that corrupt governmental officials would join forces with other criminal elements in the population to pyramid the profits to greater heights. Similarly, with the patron willing to pay exorbitant prices for even mediocre liquor, it was inevitable that there should be keen competition among the various gangs or syndicates in the underworld. The result was that prohibition, designed to rid the country of the "demon rum," was directly and indirectly the cause of political and underworld alliances and machinations, and of an era of gang warfare, murders and violence which ensued. This was by no means a totally new situation. Alcohol has always been socially recalcitrant. It therefore lent itself easily to the forces which for nearly a century had been dis-

ordering American society. The prohibition era simply exacerbated a chronic situation and gave the old lawless elements in American society new opportunities for criminal activity. Not a few people rejoiced in the violence of the bootlegging gangster because his attention was diverted from preying upon neighbors to outwitting prohibition officers.

The rise of the speakeasy with its slotted front door, installed to some extent as a means of protection against police raids, but partially, at least, as an added "stage prop" for the effect upon its patrons, provided drinking opportunities for those who had enjoyed the privilege in the pre-prohibition days and others as well. Because of the close alliance which the liquor traffic had almost universally contracted with the underworld, commercialized vice and gambling soon were very closely associated as adjunct enterprises. With their development into "big business" the struggle for supremacy and control of the industry resulted in the emergence of "vice czars" and "beer barons" whose importance culminated in their designation as "public enemies." The obvious failures of prohibition, for whatever reasons, coupled with active collective efforts on the part of distillers, brewers and others formerly in the industry (including gigantic "educational" efforts to "smear" prohibition), led to the introduction of the twenty-first amendment. When the business depression created widespread unemployment a decided impetus was given to the movement because of the argument that large numbers could be employed if the sale of liquor could be legalized. As a result three-fourths of the states ratified the twenty-first amendment, and on December 5, 1933, alcohol celebrated its new triumph. This was followed by legislation in the individual states regulating and controlling the manufacture, sale and consumption of liquors within their borders. Both the Republican and Democratic platforms during the agitation for the return of liquor, had explicitly stated that neither party wished to see the return of the old-time saloon. While the term saloon is no longer used and legislation in several states prohibits it, it is generally agreed that in most instances its successor the modern tavern has been no improvement over the saloon of 1918.

Historically the sale of liquor in the city of Chicago goes back to the years before the city's incorporation. *In Chicago's Great Century, 1833-1933,* Henry Justin Smith, discussing the early days of the city records that: About the first of August, 1833, thirteen men met and voted that there should be held the first election of town trustees at Mark Beaubien's Sauganash Tavern; and also that in 1834 there already existed laws prohibiting the sale of liquor by "tippling" shops or groceries on the Sabbath. Commenting upon this law Robert Shackleton in *The Book of Chicago* brings out:

> The first Sunday liquor law went into force in 1834, and although activity was encouraged by giving the informer half of the fine, which was five dollars, there seemed to have been no particular results.[1]

Another publication relating to the growth of the city includes the following pertinent paragraph on the price of liquor in the early days of Chicago:

> "In the life of the pioneers liquor was plentiful and cheap. People enjoyed dancing, horse races and lottery games. About 1833 or 1834 the county commissioners permitted tavern keepers to charge the following rates: wine, rum or brandy, 37½ cents per pint; gin, 31¼ cents per pint; whiskey, 18¾ cents per pint; cider or beer, 12½ cents per quart. When the Town of Chicago was incorporated in 1833 a census taken by the city a few months after the charter of the city was taken out showed 26 liquor dispensaries, 10 taverns, 5 churches."[2]

From that time on, liquor and establishments associated with it have in one form or another existed in the city of Chicago, and provisions for licensing and control have consequently been enacted and amended from time to time.

This Volume is concerned with commercial recreation in Chicago at the present time; therefore it is not possible to go further into the historical background of the saloon or other types of retail liquor establishments which have existed in the more than one hundred years since the city's incorporation. Of interest, however, is the fact that Professor Burgess in his study of recreation in Chicago, made in 1926 during the prohibition era,

[1]Robert Shackleton, *The Book of Chicago* (Philadelphia: Penn Publishing Company, 1920), p. 12.
[2]P. Gilbert and C. L. Bryson, *Chicago and Its Makers* (Chicago: Felix Mendelsohn, 1929), p. 69.

acknowledges the importance of the pre-prohibition day's liquor establishment in his comment:

"One semi-recreational institution of the pre-war years, the open saloon, known or notorious as 'the poor man's club,' has disappeared. The question may well be raised as to what substitute, if any, has arisen to take its place."

In 1937 the number of retail liquor establishments in the city of Chicago exceeded the number licensed in any other year, including those of the pre-prohibition era. According to records of the city collector and the Municipal Reference Librarian, the pre-prohibition peak in the number of licenses was reached in 1905 when 8,097 saloons were in operation. With the increasing of the license fee the following year from $500 to $1,000 the number of establishments was reduced, and in 1916 there were approximately 1,000 fewer. During the World War the number was decreased still further so that in 1919 when prohibition became effective the total had dropped to 5,262. The lowest ratio of population per tavern was reached in 1919, when there were 519 residents in the city of Chicago for each licensed retail liquor location. This represented almost twice the number of people per establishment in 1907. In 1934, the first full year of licensed liquor following the repeal, there were 440 individuals to each tavern in the city. In 1938 the increase in number of taverns and other types of retail agencies without a commensurate increase in population brought the number of residents down to 388 for each licensed retail liquor place.

Analysis of 8,999 taverns and other forms of liquor establishments during the first half of 1937 revealed licenses issued in every community area except one, varying from two in community areas 54 and 70 to more than 500 in areas 24, 28 and 32. Thirty-three areas in 1937 had more than 100 licensed establishments. Nearly half of the total licensed retail locations in Chicago were concentrated in 12 community areas. After eliminating from the population statistics that group below the age of 18 which for the most part provides a very small illegal patronage, the number of retail licenses during the first half of 1937 averaged one for each 262 persons 18 years and over. In 50 community areas the ratio of licenses to population was lower; the extremely low ratio of approximately one license for each 1,009 persons was reached in area 12; the ratio of one for each 1,888 persons in area 75 represented the greatest number of people per retail liquor establishment in the whole city. In 17 community areas there were less than 200 individuals for each license issued. In one, however (the Loop), there was one liquor license for every seven people over seventeen years of age! But area 72, on the other hand, seems to have passed up this particular form of commercial recreation.

Over 16 per cent of the 1937 retail liquor licenses were issued to addresses on five streets, of which three (Clark, Madison and Halsted) had over 300 establishments each. The twenty streets containing the largest number are as follows:

Name	*Number*	*Name*	*Number*
Clark Street	342	Kedzie Avenue	140
Madison Street	328	Broadway	133
Halsted Street	323	Chicago Avenue	131
Ashland Boulevard and Avenue	261	Fullerton Avenue	121
Western Avenue	217	Pulaski Road	113
North Avenue	188	47th Street	111
63d Street	179	Lincoln Avenue	109
State Street	177	Michigan Boulevard	109
Milwaukee Avenue	170	Division Street	105
Cottage Grove Avenue	140	Irving Park Boulevard	103

Certain areas on these streets were centers of concentration for licensed liquor establishments. On Madison Street, for example, 17 licenses were lcoated within a block, and on Clark Street 14 licenses were issued for the block between 600 and 700 north. A glance at a local transportation map will show that in the above list of streets, car lines are routed on all except Michigan Avenue. It should be stated, however, that the retail liquor establishments, because of their sheer number are more widely distributed and touch more residential areas than any other form of commercial recreation in the city.

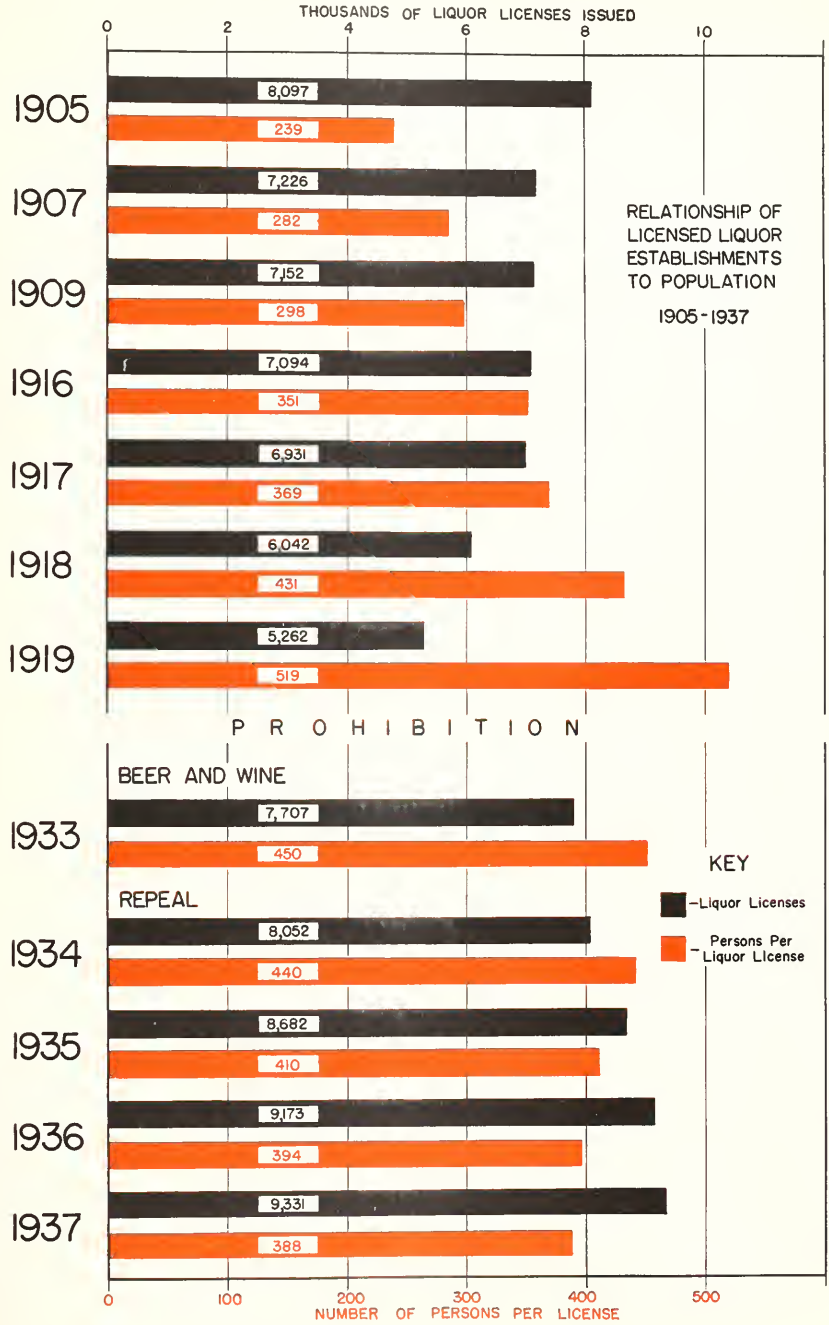
Although the use of the term "bar" by retail liquor establishments is prohibited by law, it is interesting to note that during 1937 in addition to such descriptive names as tavern, taproom, taphouse, cocktail lounge, bier stube, beer garden, cafe, inn, and place, the word "bar" was often in evidence both in window signs and in the advertising of retail liquor establishments.

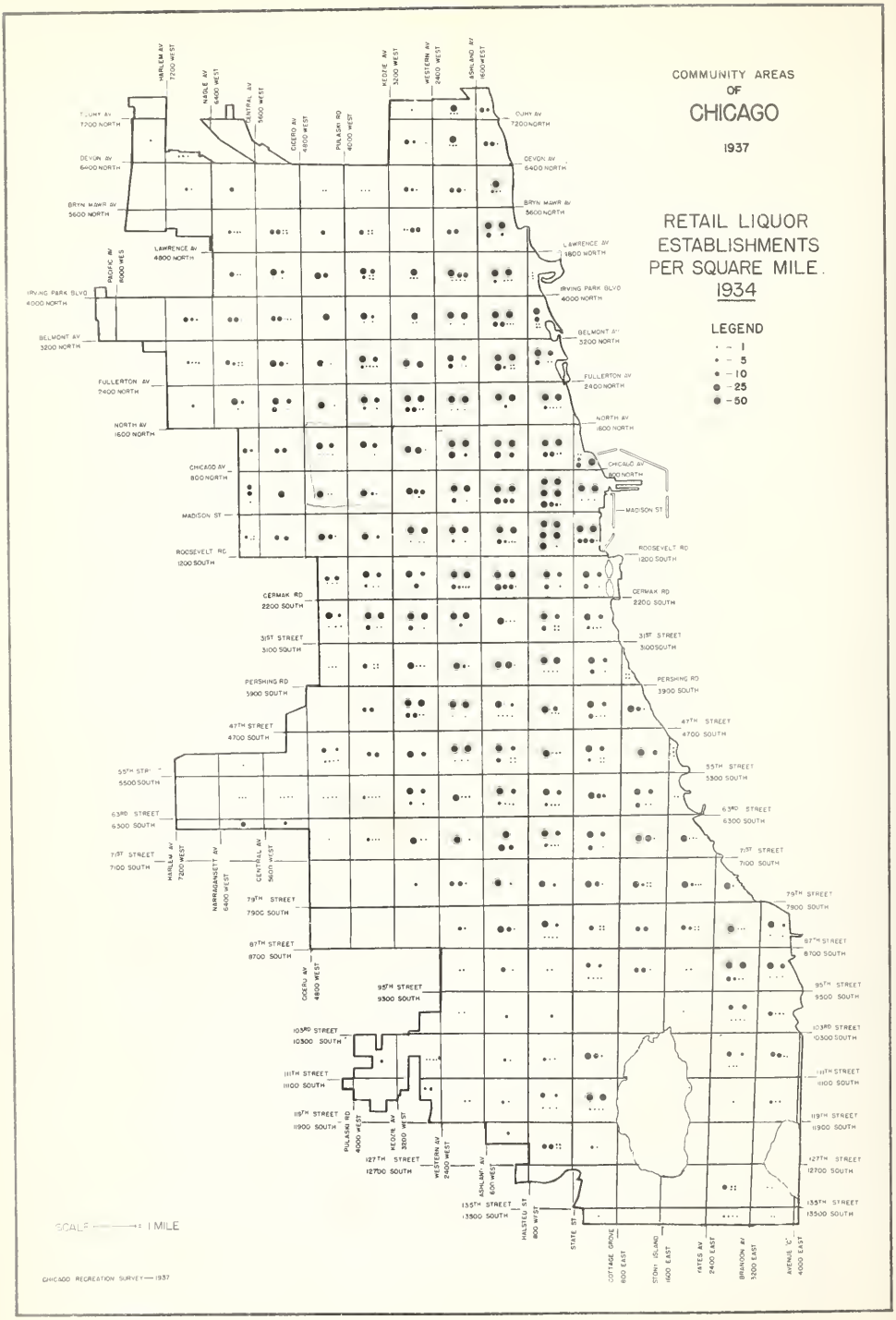
The following table indicates the general distribution of all retail liquor establishments during the first half of 1937:

Area	1934 population over 17 years	1937 first half liquor licenses	Population per liquor establishment
1	46,671	116	402
2	30,502	62	492
3	102,934	331	311
4	35,282	87	406
5	35,246	125	282
6	88,384	311	284
7	67,723	284	238
8	60,044	422	142
9	3,847	8	481
10	10,105	17	594
11	14,011	41	342
12	3,027	3	1,009
13	8,426	9	936
14	40,961	60	683
15	46,546	125	372
16	48,455	121	400
17	13,485	27	499
18	5,946	15	396
19	42,305	144	294
20	17,106	45	380
21	33,519	127	264
22	77,350	282	274
23	55,020	162	340
24	112,761	514	219
25	97,497	244	400
26	35,139	110	319
27	42,681	142	301
28	100,042	540	185
29	73,327	108	679
30	53,260	244	218
31	39,139	323	121
32	3,404	522	7
33	6,723	72	93
34	13,654	44	311
35	35,054	88	398
36	10,038	38	264
37	8,768	56	157
38	68,441	140	489
39	20,645	37	558
40	34,590	70	494
41	35,869	85	422
42	48,079	139	346
43	60,065	126	477
44	27,231	77	354
45	6,901	10	690
46	34,423	243	142
47	1,980	9	220
48	4,486	23	195
49	30,178	80	377
50	4,125	25	165
51	4,648	32	145
52	10,477	60	175
53	18,030	90	200
54	829	2	415
55	4,151	25	166
56	3,563	11	324
57	5,147	20	257
58	29,606	173	171
59	13,136	77	171
60	31,470	203	155
61	52,317	372	141
62	1,666	6	278
63	20,945	66	317
64	3,511	31	113
65	6,025	7	861
66	34,369	118	291
67	43,570	145	300
68	62,015	206	301
69	42,497	143	297
70	414	2	207
71	41,986	125	336
72	10,300	0	...
73	13,366	36	371
74	2,266	11	206
75	9,438	5	1,888
Total...	2,361,137	8,999	262

A comparison of the addresses for which licenses were issued indicates that 91.6 per cent of the 1936 licenses (second half) were renewed in 1937, and that 15.3 per cent of the 1937 licenses had not been issued in 1936. In a block by block study of all forms of commercial recreation in 1936 it was found that 427 liquor locations licensed in 1935 were already out of business. The balance of approximately 8,000 was comprised primarily of taverns, with restaurants and drug stores, following in that order. It should be pointed out that these classifications were determined solely upon the trade name of the organization as indicated on window and advertising signs, and that no attempt was made to check this information further against licenses for the various types of business with which some of the retail locations were associated. With this fact in mind, the percentage of the various forms of business associated with retail liquor establishments were classified as follows: taverns 70 per cent, restaurants 15 per cent, drug stores 5 per cent, retail liquor stores 3 per cent, grocery stores 2 per cent, and cabarets and night clubs less than one per cent. Hotels, clubs, confectioneries, recreation halls of one kind or another, cigar stores, and department stores each accounted for less than one per cent of the total. In other chapters of this Volume pertaining to specific forms of licensed amusements the number of these agencies which possess liquor licenses has been noted.

Through the various federal, state and local statutes and ordinances, retail liquor establishment proprietors are required to pay license fees


THOUSANDS OF LIQUOR LICENSES ISSUED
0
2
4
6
8
10
1905
8,097
239
1907
7,226
282
1909
7,152
298
1916
7,094
351
1917
6,931
369
1918
6,042
431
1919
5,262
519
RELATIONSHIP OF LICENSED LIQUOR ESTABLISHMENTS TO POPULATION
1905-1937
P R O H I B I T I O N
BEER AND WINE
1933
7,707
450
REPEAL
1934
8,052
440
1935
8,682
410
1936
9,173
394
1937
9,331
388
KEY
Liquor Licenses
Persons Per Liquor License
0
100
200
300
400
500
NUMBER OF PERSONS PER LICENSE


COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
RETAIL LIQUOR
ESTABLISHMENTS
PER SQUARE MILE.
1934
LEGEND
1
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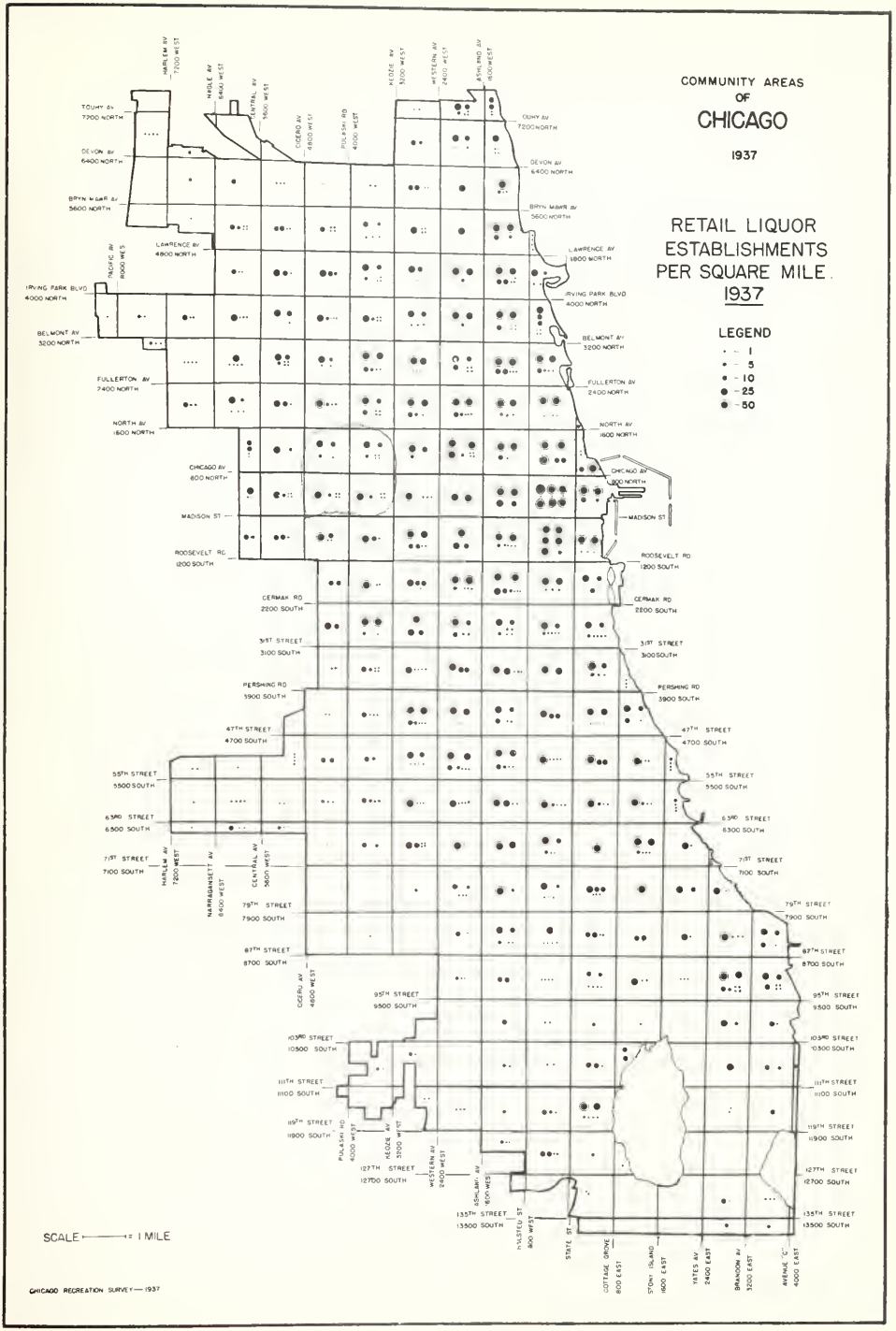
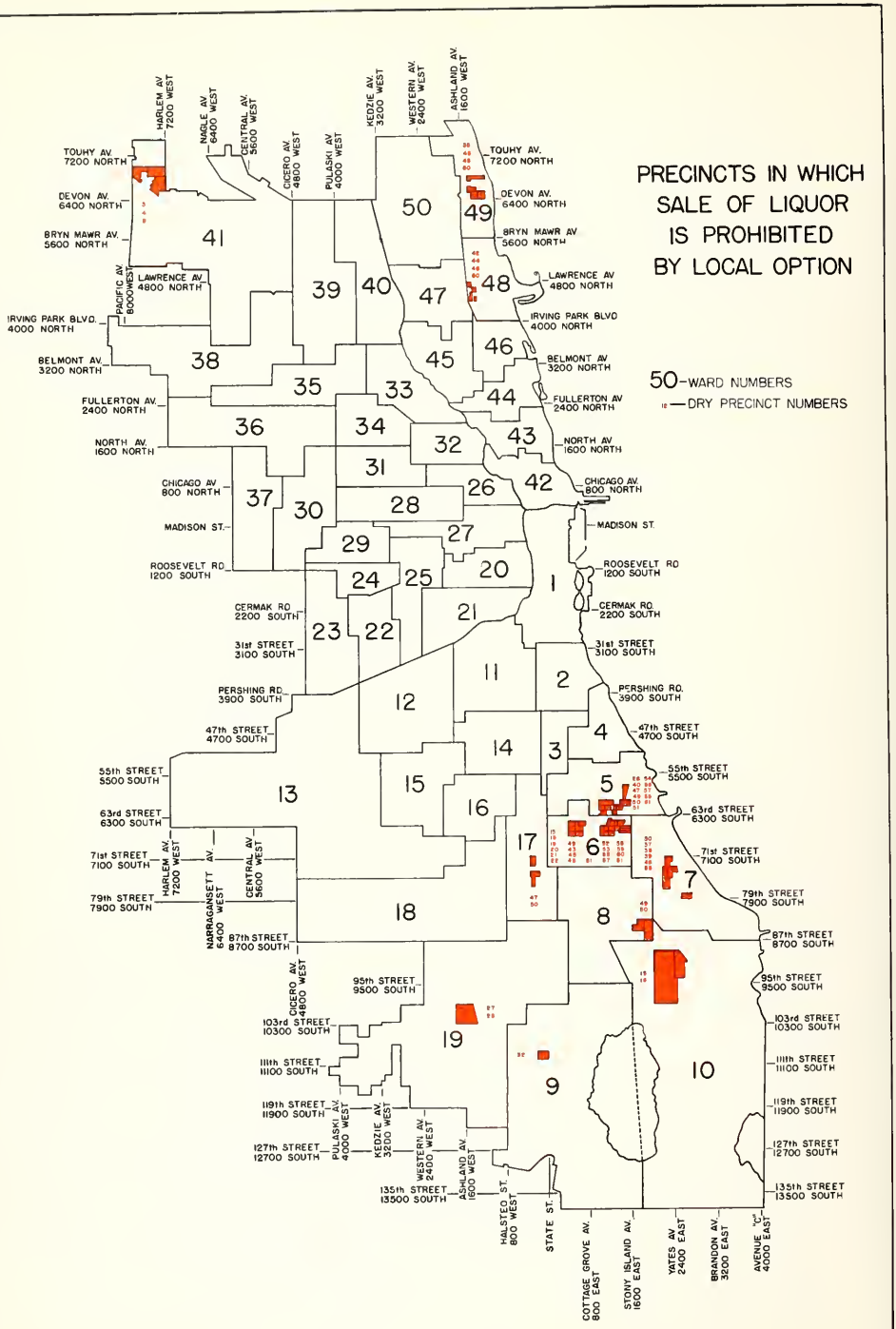
50
SCALE 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY — 1937


COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
RETAIL LIQUOR
ESTABLISHMENTS
PER SQUARE MILE.
1937
LEGEND
1
5
10
25
50
SCALE
1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY — 1937


PRECINCTS IN WHICH SALE OF LIQUOR IS PROHIBITED BY LOCAL OPTION
50—WARD NUMBERS
18—DRY PRECINCT NUMBERS
HARLEM AV 7200 WEST
NAGLE AV 6400 WEST
CENTRAL AV 5600 WEST
CICERO AV 4800 WEST
PULASKI AV 4000 WEST
KEDZIE AV 3200 WEST
WESTERN AV 2400 WEST
ASHLAND AV 1600 WEST
TOUHY AV 7200 NORTH
DEVON AV 6400 NORTH
BRYN MAWR AV 5600 NORTH
LAWRENCE AV 4800 NORTH
PACIFIC AV 8000 WEST
IRVING PARK BLVD 4000 NORTH
BELMONT AV 3200 NORTH
FULLERTON AV 2400 NORTH
NORTH AV 1600 NORTH
CHICAGO AV 800 NORTH
MADISON ST
ROOSEVELT RD 1200 SOUTH
CERMAK RD 2200 SOUTH
31st STREET 3100 SOUTH
PERSHING RD 3900 SOUTH
47th STREET 4700 SOUTH
55th STREET 5500 SOUTH
63rd STREET 6300 SOUTH
71st STREET 7100 SOUTH
79th STREET 7900 SOUTH
87th STREET 8700 SOUTH
95th STREET 9500 SOUTH
103rd STREET 10300 SOUTH
111th STREET 11100 SOUTH
119th STREET 11900 SOUTH
127th STREET 12700 SOUTH
135th STREET 13500 SOUTH
NARRAGANSETT AV 6400 WEST
HALSTED ST 800 WEST
STATE ST
COTTAGE GROVE AV 800 EAST
STONY ISLAND AV 1600 EAST
YATES AV 2400 EAST
BRANDON AV 3200 EAST
AVENUE "O" 4000 EAST

Chicago Recreation Survey — 1937

to each of these governmental units. The federal government requires an annual fee of $25.00. The state of Illinois has a yearly licensing charge of $50.00, while the city of Chicago assesses a license fee of $600.00 upon retail liquor establishments. If each of the 9,331 establishments licensed during 1937 had operated the entire year, the amount received by the various governmental agencies would have been as follows: federal, $233,275; state, $466,550; and city, $5,598,600, making a total of $6,298,425. However, this amount is somewhat higher than the total actually received, for the simple reason that in some instances retail liquor establishments operating during the first half of 1937 did not obtain renewals and also because only a comparatively few new establishments were opened for the first time in the second half of the year.

The interest of the federal government in the liquor industry in Illinois concerns itself primarily with the revenue it derives from the manufacture, distribution and sale of alcoholic liquors; hence its regulatory activities are generally restricted to the manufacturing aspects and to the enforcement of licensing and revenue measures. The major responsibility, therefore, for the manufacture and sale of liquors within the state rests with the state legislature; thus, as indicated in Chapter II of this Volume, any regulatory measures, ordinances and licensing provisions of the city of Chicago arise through specific delegation of such functions and powers by the state legislature either through charters or permissive legislation. The control, regulation and licensing of all liquor establishments in Illinois are provided in the Alcoholic Liquors Act, which includes provisions pertaining to all phases of the manufacture, distribution and sale of alcoholic liquor—"alcohol, spirits, wine and beer, and every liquid or solid patented or not containing alcohol spirits, wine or beer and capable of being consumed as a beverage by a human being." As has already been indicated, the scope of this present study is limited to establishments engaged in selling liquor at retail; therefore, while the Act includes broad regulatory measures for governmental control of the liquor industry in all its phases, and is regarded as one of the most detailed in the United States, space restrictions in this Volume permit only the inclusions of pertinent excerpts specially related to the retail phases of the industry.

The controlling agency in the state is the State Liquor Commission of three members appointed by the governor for terms of six years. Not more than two members of this commission may be members of the same political party, nor may any of the commissioners or employees be directly or indirectly interested in the manufacture, sale or distribution of alcoholic liquor.

The powers of the commission as they relate to retailers of liquor are enumerated in paragraph fifteen of the Act as follows:

> To receive applications and direct the Department of Finance to issue and revoke licenses . . . . ; to call upon other administrative departments of the State, county and municipal governments, county and city police departments and upon prosecuting officers for such information and assistance as it may deem necessary in the performance of its duties; to recommend to local commissioners rules and regulations, not inconsistent with law, for the distribution and sale of alcoholic liquors throughout the State; to submit to the Governor . . . . annually . . . . reports of its official acts and recommendations; to inspect, or cause to be inspected, any premises where alcoholic liquors are . . . . sold, but in the case where a local license is required such inspection shall be for the sole purpose of ascertaining whether a State retailer's license has been obtained unless an appeal has been taken in respect to such premises to the State commission in accordance with this Act; to hear and determine appeals from orders of a local commission in accordance with the provisions of this Act . . . . ; to investigate the administration of laws in relation to alcoholic liquors in this and other states and any foreign countries, and to recommend from time to time to the Governor and through him to the legislature of this State, such amendments to this Act, if any, as it may think desirable and as will serve to further the general broad purposes contained in the Act.

Local liquor control commissioners are established by the Act who are responsible for the administration of the provisions of the state law and for any ordinances and resolutions which the local city council may establish. The powers of the local liquor control commission are defined in some detail in paragraph nineteen, as follows:

> To grant and revoke for cause all local licenses issued to persons for premises within his jurisdiction; to enter or to authorize any law enforcing officer to enter at any time upon any premises licensed hereunder to determine whether any of the provisions of this Act or any rules or regulations adopted by it or by the State commission have been or are being violated, and at such time to examine said premises of said licensee in connection therewith; to receive complaint from any citizen within its jurisdiction that any of the provisions of this Act, or any rules or regulations adopted pursuant thereto, have been or are being violated and

to act upon such complaints in the manner hereinafter provided; to receive local license fees and pay the same forthwith to the city, village, town or county treasurer as the case may be.

Eight classifications of liquor licenses are set up in Illinois; a retailer's license enables the licensee to sell at retail on specific premises indicated in the license. The license fee for such class "E" or retailer's license is fifty dollars per annum. (Federal statutes provide an additional fee of twenty-five dollars to be paid through the Department of Internal Revenue). The following persons are ineligible to receive liquor licenses in the State of Illinois:[1]

A person who is not a resident of the city, village or county in which the premises covered by the license are located; except in case of railroad or boat licenses; a person who is not of good character and reputation in the community in which he resides; a person who is not a citizen of the United States; a person who has been convicted of a felony under the laws of the State of Illinois; a person who has been convicted of being the keeper or is keeping a house of ill fame; a person who has been convicted of pandering or other crime or misdemeanor opposed to decency and morality; a person whose license issued under this Act has been revoked for cause; a person who at the time of application for renewal of any license issued hereunder would not be eligible for such license upon a first application; a copartnership, unless all of the members of such copartnership shall be qualified to obtain a license; a corporation, if any officer, manager or director thereof, or any stockholder or stockholders owning in the aggregate more than five per cent (5%) of the stock of such corporation, would not be eligible to receive a license hereunder for any reason other than citizenship and residence within the political subdivision; a person whose place of business is conducted by a manager or agent unless said manager or agent possesses the same qualifications required of the licensee; a person who has been convicted of a violation of any Federal or State law concerning the manufacture, possession or sale of alcoholic liquor, subsequent to the passage of this Act, or shall have forfeited his bond to appear in court to answer charges for any such violation; a person who does not own the premises for which a license is sought, or does not have a lease thereon for the full period for which the license is to be issued; any law enforcing public official, any mayor, alderman, or member of the city council or commission, any president of the village board of trustees, any member of a village board of trustees, or any president or member of a county board; and no such official shall be interested in any way, either directly or indirectly, in the manufacture, sale or distribution of alcoholic liquor.

Each application for a state license must include information submitted under oath in writing, stating:[2]

The name, age and address of the applicant in the case of an individual; in the case of a copartnership, the persons entitled to share in the profits thereof, and in the case of a corporation, for profit, or a club, the date of incorporation, the objects for which it was organized, the names and addresses of the officers and directors, and if a majority in interest of the stock of such corporation is owned by one person or his nominees, the name and address of such person; the citizenship of the applicant, his place of birth and if a naturalized citizen, the time and place of his naturalization; the character of business of the applicant; and in case of a corporation, the objects for which it was formed; the length of time that said applicant has been in business of that character, or in the case of a corporation, the date on which its charter was issued; the amount of goods, wares and merchandise on hand at the time application is made; the location and description of the premises or place of business which is to be operated under such license; or in the case of a railroad or boat license, where such car or boat is to be operated; a statement whether applicant has made similar application for a similar other license on premises other than described in this application, and the disposition of such application; a statement that applicant has never been convicted of a felony and is not disqualified to receive a license by reason of any matter or thing contained in this Act; whether a previous license by any state or subdivision thereof, or by the Federal government has been revoked, and the reasons therefor; in the case of a retailer, that he has received a local license to sell alcoholic liquor at retail; that he will not violate any of the laws of the State of Illinois or of the United States in the conduct of his place of business; that he has not received or borrowed money or anything else of value, and that he will not receive or borrow money or anything else of value (other than merchandising credit in the ordinary course of business for a period not to exceed ninety (90) days, as herein expressly permitted under section 4 of Article VI hereof), directly or indirectly from any manufacturer, importing distributor or distributor, representative of any such manufacturer, importing distributor or distributor nor be a party in any way, directly or indirectly, to any violation by a manufacturer, distributor or importing distributor of section 5 of Article VI of this Act.

The state law forbids the sale of liquor in certain areas or specific types of establishments, and requires conformity to specific requirements relating to the premises in which the business is conducted.

Except in the case of hotels and clubs, no alcoholic liquor shall be sold at retail upon any premises which has any access which leads from such premises to any other portion of the same building or structure used for dwelling or lodging purpose and which is permitted to be used or kept accessible for use by the public. This provision shall not prevent any connection between such premises and such other portion of the building or structure which is used only by the licensee, his family and personal guests.[3]

In premises upon which the sale of alcoholic liquor for consumption upon the premises is licensed (other than as a restaurant, hotel or club), no screen, blind,

[1] *Illinois Revised Statutes*, (Cahill and Moore, 1935), ch. 43, par. 27, sec. 2.
[2] *Ibid.*, par. 52.
[3] *Ibid.*, par. 35.

curtain, partition, article or thing shall be permitted in the windows or upon the doors of such licensed premises nor inside such premises, which shall prevent a clear view into the interior of such licensed premises from the street, road or sidewalk at all times, and no booth, screen, partition, or other obstruction nor any arrangements of lights or lighting shall be permitted in or about the interior of such licensed premises which shall prevent a full view of the entire interior of such premises from the street, road or sidewalk, and said premises must be so located that there shall be a full view of the entire interior of such premises from the street, road or sidewalk. All rooms where liquor is sold for consumption upon the premises shall be continuously lighted during business hours by natural light or artificial white light so that all parts of the interior of the premises shall be clearly visible. In case the view into any such licensed premises required by the foregoing provision, shall be wilfully obscured by the licensee or by him wilfully suffered to be obscured or in any manner obstructed, then such license shall be subject to revocation in the manner herein provided. In order to enforce the provisions of this section the local commission shall have the right to require the filing with it of plans, drawings and photographs showing the clearance of the view as above required.[1]

No license shall be issued for the sale at retail of any alcoholic liquor within 100 feet of any church, school, hospital, home for aged or indigent persons or for veterans, their wives or children or any military or naval station; *provided,* that this prohibition shall not apply to hotels offering restaurant service, regularly organized clubs, or to restaurants, food shops or other places where sale of alcoholic liquors is not the principal business carried on, if such place of business so exempted shall have been established for such purposes prior to the taking effect of this Act. No person shall hereafter engage in business as a retailer of any alcoholic liquor in any city, village or incorporated town having a population of 50,000 inhabitants, or over, within 100 feet of any undertaking establishment or mortuary. No alcoholic liquor, other than beer, shall be sold for consumption on the premises within fifteen hundred feet from any building used for regular classroom or laboratory instruction on the main campus of any State university owned or maintained, in whole or in part, by the State of Illinois, and which is endowed by the proceeds of the sale of public lands set apart for that purpose by the Act of the Congress of the United States of July 2, 1862, entitled, "An Act donating public land to the several states and territories which may provide colleges for the benefit of agriculture and mechanic arts."[2]

No license shall be issued to any person for the sale at retail of any alcoholic liquor at any store or other place of business where the majority of customers are minors of school age or where the principal business transacted consists of school books, school supplies, food, lunches or drinks for such minors.[3]

The determination of the hours during which the retail liquor establishment may be open is delegated to the local liquor boards. The sale of liquor is not permitted on election days, and in a further attempt to eliminate alliances between politicians and liquor establishments contributions by their proprietors to political campaign funds are forbidden in paragraph 39.

Local option is permitted on the question of whether or not the sale of liquor should be permitted in individual precincts, and the mechanics of such elections are provided in paragraph seventy-five of the Act. Nor is it permitted to give, sell or deliver liquor to "any minor, or to any intoxicated person or to any person known by him to be an habitual drunkard, spendthrift or insane, feebleminded or distracted person."[4] In addition,

No person shall sell or furnish alcoholic liquor at retail to any person on credit or on a pass book, or order on a store, or in exchange for any goods, wares or merchandise, or in payment for any services rendered; and if any person shall extend credit for such purpose the debt thereby attempted to be created shall not be recoverable at law; *provided* that nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent any club from permitting checks or statements for alcoholic liquor to be signed by members or *bona fide* guests of members and charged to the account of such members or guests in accordance with the by-laws of said club; *and provided further* that nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent any hotel from permitting checks or statements for liquor to be signed by regular guests residing at said hotel and charged to the accounts of said guests.[5]

That the state legislature was of the opinion that over-indulgence in intoxicating beverages might result in harmful effects both to the intoxicated individual and to those who might be affected by the consequences of his conduct, and that furthermore the responsibility for preventing such intoxication rests with the seller of the liquor, are explicit from the paragraphs in the liquor law in which the liability of the seller is very definitely pointed out.[6]

Every husband, wife, child, parent, guardian, employer or other person, who shall be injured, in person or property, or means of support, by any intoxicated person, or in consequence of the intoxication, habitual or otherwise, of any person, shall have a right of action in his or her own name, severally or jointly, against any person or persons who shall, by selling or giving alcoholic liquor, have caused the intoxication, in whole or in part, of such person; and any person owning, renting, leasing or permitting the occupation of any building or premises, and having knowledge that alcoholic liquors are to be sold therein, or who having leased the same for other purposes, shall knowingly permit therein the sale of any alcoholic liquors that have caused, in whole or in part, the intoxication of any per-

[1] Cahill and Moore, *op. cit.,* ch. 43, par. 48.
[2] *Ibid.,* par. 34.
[3] *Ibid.,* par. 34 (1).
[4] *Ibid.,* par. 38.
[5] *Ibid.,* par. 41, sec. 13.
[6] *Ibid.,* par. 42-43.

son, shall be liable, severally or jointly, with the person or persons selling or giving alcoholic liquors aforesaid, for all damages sustained, and for exemplary damages; and a married woman shall have the same right to bring suit and to control the same and the amount recovered as a *feme sole;* and all damages recovered by a minor under this Act shall be paid either to such minor, or to his or her parent, guardian or next friend as the court shall direct; and the unlawful sale, or giving away, of alcoholic liquor, shall work a forfeiture of all rights of the lessee or tenant, under any lease or contract of rent upon the premises where such unlawful sale or giving away shall take place; and all suits for damages under this Act may be by an appropriate action in any of the courts of this State having competent jurisdiction.

As a measure to protect motorists and pedestrians the law provides that: "No person shall transport, carry, possess or have any alcoholic liquor in or upon or about any motor vehicle except in the original package and with the seal unbroken."[1]

The foregoing citations in the main represent the provisions in the alcoholic liquors Act particularly concerned with the retail sale of liquor. As a means of enforcing and securing compliance with these rules and regulations, the Act provides detailed procedures for the revocation of licenses for non-compliance with and violation of the provisions of the state law and also local ordinances.[2] To this end it provides for filing of complaints, hearings on complaints by the State commission (or license appeal commissions in cities of over 200,000 inhabitants) and the penalties attached to revocation.

Various sections of the Criminal Code provide that:

> Every tavern-keeper, common victualer or other person, keeping or suffering to be kept, in any place occupied by him, any implements such as are used in gaming, in order that the same may, for hire, gain or reward, be used for the purpose of amusement, who suffers any implement of that kind to be used upon any part of his premises, for the purpose of gaming for money or other property, or who suffers any person to play at an unlawful game or sport therein, shall for the first offense be fined $100, and for the second offense be fined not less than $500 and be confined in the county jail not less than six months, and for the third offense shall be fined not less than $500 and be imprisoned in the penitentiary not less than two nor more than five years, and in either case he shall forfeit his license, and shall not again be licensed, as a tavern-keeper for one year from his conviction.[3]

and also:

> That all saloons or places where intoxicating liquors are sold, in which minors are permitted to play with cards, dice, balls, or any other article or device used in gaming, are hereby declared to be disorderly houses. Every proprietor or keeper of such saloons or places where such gaming or playing shall take place, shall for the first offense be subjected to a fine of not exceeding $50, and for any subsequent offense, to a fine not exceeding $100, or to imprisonment not exceeding thirty days for the first offense, and sixty days for any subsequent offense.[4]

With such extensive state legislation covering almost every phase of the retail liquor trade, there is comparatively little need for elaborate local laws. The present alcoholic liquor code of the city of Chicago, as amended through 1936, includes the following ordinances:[5]

3143-J. Definition.] All words and phrases used in this ordinance which are defined in an act entitled "An Act relating to alcoholic liquors," approved January 31, 1934, shall have the meaning *accorded* to such words and phrases in said Act.

3143-K. City retailer's license.] No person shall sell at retail any alcoholic liquor without first having obtained a city retailer's license for each location, place or premise where the retailer is located to sell the same. Where two or more such locations, places or premises are under the same roof or at one street address a separate city retailer's license shall be obtained for each such location, place or premise; provided that nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to prevent any hotel operator licensed under the provisions of this article from serving alcoholic liquor to his registered guests in any room or part of his hotel, if such liquor so served shall be kept in and served from a licensed location, place or premise in said hotel.

The issuance to or possession by any person of a retail liquor dealer *tax stamp* issued for a then-existing *tax* period by the United States government or any of its agencies shall be and constitute *prima facie* evidence that such person is subject to the provisions of this article.

3143-L. Local liquor control commissioner to issue license—license period.] City retailer's licenses for the sale of alcoholic liquor shall be issued by the mayor as the local liquor control commissioner, subject to the provisions of an act entitled "An Act relating to alcoholic liquors" approved January 31, 1934, and subject to all laws and ordinances now in force or which may here-

[1] Cahill and Moore, *op. cit.*, ch. 43, par. 47.
[2] *Ibid.*, par. 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 63.
[3] *Ibid.*, ch. 38, par. 366, sec. 128.
[4] *Ibid.*, ch. 38, par. 304, sec. 1.
[5] *Chicago Council Proceedings,* Dec. 11, 1931, p. 1447, as amended.

after be enacted relating to alcoholic liquor, and subject to all laws and ordinances relating to licenses in general not inconsistent with the law relating to alcoholic liquor. Every such city retailer's license shall be issued for semi-annual periods, the first of such periods to begin on January 1 and to end on June 30 of the year of issuance, and the second of such periods to begin on July 1 and to end on December 31 of the year of issuance.

3143-M. Application—fee—change of location.] Application for a city retailer's license for the sale of alcoholic liquor shall be made to the city collector. The fee for such license shall be $300 for the whole or any portion of the license period for which application is made. The city collector shall forward the application to the mayor as the local liquor control commissioner for such action as the mayor may see fit to take pursuant to the law.

When an application for license is received by the city collector or a request for removal to premises other than those licensed is received by the mayor, the city collector or the mayor, as the case may be, shall, within five days thereafter, cause to be published in some daily newspaper of general circulation not devoted to any particular profession, trade or class of business in the city of Chicago, a notice that applicatio nhas been made for such license, or request for removal to another location, as the case may be, stating the name of the applicant, the residence address of the applicant, and the street number and location of the premises covered by said application or request for change of location and notifying all persons that any objection to the granting of said license or change of location shall be made to the mayor, as the local liquor control commissioner, in writing, signed by the objector, within five days thereafter, and stating specifically the grounds of his objection. Said publication may contain notice of more than one application for a license or request for change of location by different persons for different premises. Said notice shall be published for at least three consecutive days. The cost of publication of said notice shall be paid by the applicant or person requesting change of location and the city collector shall require the deposit of a sufficient sum to cover the cost of said publication in addition to the license or transfer fee provided for, at the time of the filing of the application for a license or the request for change of location. No license shall be issued or request for change of location approved prior to the expiration of eight days after the first publication of said notice.

3143-O. Sale on Sundays—prohibited hours of sale—premises to be closed.] Any person licensed under the provisions of this article as a retailer of alcoholic liquor may sell at retail any alcoholic liquor on Sundays until the hour of two o'clock A.M., and between the hours of twelve o'clock noon and midnight. No person licensed hereunder as a retailer of alcoholic liquor shall sell, permit to be sold, or give away any alcoholic liquor between the hours of one o'clock A.M. and seven o'clock A.M. on week days and between the hours of two o'clock A.M. and twelve o'clock noon on Sundays. During such prohibited hours of sale every location, place or premise where alcoholic liquor may be sold at retail shall be kept closed and no person other than the licensee or an employee or a member of the immediate family of the licensee shall be permitted to remain therein. All doors directly opening into or out of such location, place or premise for ingress thereto or egress therefrom shall be securely locked during the prohibited hours of sale. The provisions of this section relating to the closing of the premises and the locking of the doors shall not apply to restaurants and hotels licensed as food dispensers, nor to clubs, drug stores and delicatessen stores.

3143-P. Employment of minors prohibited.] It shall be unlawful for any licensee or his manager or other person in charge of the licensed premises to engage or employ or permit any minor to work or to entertain or to act as host or hostess in or upon the licensed premises while open for the sale at retail of alcoholic liquors.

3143-Q. Female solicitors prohibited.] It shall be unlawful for any licensee or his manager or other person in charge of any licensed premises where alcoholic liquor is sold or offered for sale for consumption thereon to engage or employ or permit the engagement or employment of any female, or permit any other female to remain on said premises, who shall solicit any patron or customer thereof to purchase alcoholic or non-alcoholic liquor for her, himself or any other person therein; provided, however, that nothing herein contained shall prohibit any adult manageress or waitress who shall be regularly employed therein from accepting and serving the order of a patron or customer in the regular course of her employment as such manageress or waitress.

3143-R. Penalties.] Any person violating any of the provisions of this article shall be fined not less than $25 nor more than $200 for each offense and every day that such violation shall continue shall constitute a separate and distinct offense.

3143-S. Free lunch.] It shall be unlawful for any licensee to serve or give away or permit to be served or given away in the licensed premises, any food, free of charge, or to serve or give away or permit to be served or given away in such licensed premises, any alcoholic liquor in consideration in part or in whole for any food purchased therein.

The mayor is also empowered to issue special permits for the sale at retail of malt and vinous beverages to "any corporation, voluntary association or society of persons organized in good faith for fraternal, educational or charitable purposes." This provision, however, does not "authorize the issuance of special permits to persons or alleged pleasure clubs or corporations for the sale of malt or vinous beverages at dance halls where disreputable persons gather and young boys and girls are lured to vice and crime." Not more than six such permits may be issued in any calendar year, and the duration of each permit may not exceed from 8:00 A.M. to 3:00 A.M. the following day. The fee shall be ten dollars paid in advance, and the city collector is required to report to the city council at every regular meeting a complete list of the special permits issued since the last meeting of the council. "Whenever a dance is to be held at any gathering licensed as hereinbefore stated, a police official shall be detailed whose duty it shall be to see that none of the city ordinances for the maintenance of good order and license is violated." The city code provides further that:

> Any person, being a minor, who shall be intoxicated, or who shall purchase or offer to purchase, or in any manner obtain unlawfully, for his or her personal use, any intoxicating liquor, shall be fined in a sum not exceeding twenty-five dollars for the first offense, and in a sum not more than one hundred dollars for every subsequent offense.[1]

The various statutes and ordinances are generally regarded as adequately designed to accomplish the purpose (so far as mere legislation can do so), for which the state originally enacted the alcoholic liquor legislation, namely, "that the health, safety and welfare of the People of the State of Illinois shall be protected and temperance in the consumption of alcoholic liquors shall be fostered and promoted by sound and careful control and regulation of the manufacture, sale and distribution of alcoholic liquors."[2] However, ever since the return of legal liquor in the city of Chicago there have been expressions on the part of various reform groups and also intermittently by various metropolitan newspapers to the effect that conditions in many licensed retail liquor establishments in the city have been violating not only public decency, which is a rather nebulous term, but more specifically very often operating with little regard for the laws and social philosophy under which they were supposed to be operating.

In a study of this type such a situation could not be overlooked; yet to reach any definite findings or conclusions upon the basis of such generalizations might justifiably be questioned. Therefore, during the summer months of 1936 staff members of this Survey were assigned to make a more thorough study of existing conditions in retail liquor establishments, and particularly those classed as taverns. This was accomplished with the co-operation and under the general direction of the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago and its Executive Director, Miss Jessie F. Binford, who is also a member of the Chicago Recreation Commission. More than 3,000 taverns were visited by these investigators and by regular staff members of the Juvenile Protective Association. Only the more obvious violations were noted; for example, no attempt was made to observe infractions of the city's building code or fire prevention regulations. The taverns comprised by this study included those against which complaints had been received by the Juvenile Protective Association (which constituted only a small percentage of the total investigated), and a vastly greater number selected at random throughout all areas of the city. The findings and conclusions of this special study have been incorporated in two reports of the Juvenile Protective Association: *The Tavern, Chicago's Most Popular Recreation*, issued in September, 1936, and *The Tavern, A Social Problem*, published in March, 1937. Both of these reports received wide circulation and publicity at the time of their release. Various organizations in the liquor industry purchased wholesale quantities for distribution to their memberships and for reprinting in their trade publications. It is not possible in this chapter to include in toto these various reports. However, brief excerpts and summaries of various sections will indicate the extent of law ob-

[1] *Revised Chicago Code of 1931*, par. 4155.
[2] *Illinois Revised Statutes*, (Cahill and Moore, 1935), ch. 43, art 1, par. 1.

servance and the social problems revealed in this study of approximately one-third of the legal retail liquor establishments in the city of Chicago.

Of the 3,028 establishments visited throughout the city between 7:00 P.M. and 5:00 A.M., 2,722 or almost exactly nine out of every ten violated one or more laws. An average of three violations per tavern was reported. Classified according to the type of law and ordinance violated, the 9,453 violations were grouped as follows:

Liquor laws and ordinances	*Number of violations*
Improper lighting	2,019
Obstructed view	1,678
Sales to intoxicated persons	1,432
Gambling	1,069
Closing hour	986
Sales to minors	939
Sanitation	539
Indecent dancing and entertainment	392
Minors employed	162
Hostesses	124
Prostitution	113
Total	9,453
Violations per tavern	3.+

Reports of the investigators were analyzed and grouped into the following general findings and conclusions:

The tavern, by its very nature, is more susceptible to the evils of a community than nearly any other business. After a few drinks and the resulting loss of inhibitions, individuals will tolerate and even indulge in practices they would not otherwise consider. Taverns are especially adapted as gathering-places for members of the community, and there is a tendency for the less responsible and more susceptible individuals of a community to congregate in them and to indulge in questionable and often illegal practices.

Chicago has many disintegrated, decentralized areas. The inhabitants of these areas are economically pressed, and exist, consequently, under cheap living conditions. Business in these areas must operate in accordance with the means of the people inhabiting them. The trend of the tavern in such an area is to live down to the community. Night-clubs or cabarets in certain decentralized locations manage to operate profitably simply because they attract patrons from other communities. The average tavern, however, must rely largely on the local community for its patronage. So must the average tavern operate in accordance with the social, economic and intellectual level of the community. The tavern in a decentralized, disintegrated area must operate down to the community, and the tavern in a centralized, well organized area must operate up to the standards of that community or suffer the results of local option and other pressure exerted by its residents.

Social conditions naturally differ in various community areas. The more centralized and respectable neighborhoods accept more responsibility regarding community conditions. The decentralized, deteriorated areas have no power and little incentive to improve conditions. The near north side, the near west side and the near south side represent Chicago's most decentralized community areas. Taverns in these areas for the most part are offices for the prostitute, the "gold digger," and the questionable unattached woman. They are also the kindergarten schools of gambling and crime for many of the young patrons who frequent them.

One thousand four hundred thirty-two taverns were visited wherein liquor was sold to patrons whose behavior obviously indicated that they were intoxicated. But the tavern owner is not much concerned about violating the law by selling alcoholic liquor to intoxicated persons because he realizes that it is difficult to tell when an individual is intoxicated and equally difficult to determine by observation the extent of his intoxication. Tavern owners in Chicago are hard-pressed for business. They disregard the law and their obligation to their community by selling alcoholic liquor to intoxicated patrons, mainly because their desire for money is greater than their respect for law. No combination is more effective in relieving the tavern patron of his money than alcohol and gambling devices. An individual must take chances in gambling and if he has some aversion to taking chances (gambling or otherwise) it soon vanishes under the influence of a few drinks.

As their chief gambling device Chicago's taverns use dice in what is known as the "26" game. Slot-machines, cards, amusement games and a few other devices are used less extensively. The police are inclined to sympathize with the tavern operators in their use of gambling devices, especially the "26" game. They even go so far as to state that "rolling the dice" with a commodity such as hard liquor or beer as stakes, is not gambling but that "rolling the dice" with money as the stake would be gambling. Our city laws regarding gambling are perfectly clear. The police apparently question them simply as an excuse for not enforcing them.

Observance of the legal closing hour as prescribed by city ordinance is the exception rather than the rule among a great number of Chicago's tavern-keepers. In certain communities the majority of the taverns make no pretense at closing at the legal closing hour but continue to serve their patrons at both bar and tables. In other districts the tavern patrons move to the back-room and continue their drinking long after the legal closing-hour. The greatest offenders of the closing ordinance are the taverns offering entertainment and food. These places are usually referred to as "Night-Clubs" or "Cabarets." It is difficult to find one of them which observes the closing law. The police have closed their eyes, along with the operators of such places, in disregarding the closing ordinance. When the matter is called to their attention they sidestep it by saying that these establishments are restaurants, amusement places, etc., and are not subject to the closing ordinance designed for taverns. There are many indications to show that the police are often influenced by forces they cannot avoid. The law, however, is

clear in this matter. All the blame for violation of the closing ordinance does not rest on the police nor on the tavern owner; that part of the public which patronizes these places is equally to blame. Why do taverns, night-clubs and cabarets remain open after the legal closing hour? Simply because they have patrons who want to continue to drink and be entertained. Many taverns observe the closing-hour ordinance when they have no patrons, and disregard it when they have patrons.

Nine hundred and thirty-nine taverns were visited wherein alcoholic beverages were sold to patrons who appeared to be minors. Young people cannot be expected to live to themselves apart from their community. They will and they should participate in community life. Taverns are most accessible for recreational purposes. They have become recreational centers outnumbering every other type and having by far the largest number of patrons of all ages. If the tavern owners make it easy for young people to drink, they will drink; and the tavern owner finds it easier to accept money from minors than to refuse it. Tavern owners who sell liquor to minors in violation of the law will also take advantage of these minors in other ways. There are many tavern owners who refuse to sell liquor to minors.

The economic status of patrons, owners and employees of taverns is vitally important as a cause of widespread violation of tavern laws. The patrons are in search of inexpensive entertainment and the tavern-operators are constantly devising new methods and techniques in an effort to attract the patrons. Were it not for the extra activities offered by many taverns they would not be able to continue in business, since the sale of liquor and beer alone would not return a profit. The tavern barroom has an attraction for certain patrons, among them the "old-timers" who recall the bar and brass-rail days of the pre-prohibition era. But the younger generation, and especially the women who frequent Chicago's taverns, have an aversion to the bar. They prefer the tables or booths, and if you ask them they will agree that they like the side or backroom, which offers a little more seclusion from the prying public eyes. The barroom is all right for drinks and stories, but a bit dull for the more energetic and younger patrons. The tavern owner was quick to recognize this, and he lost no time in providing a space in his tavern which would offer more privacy and seclusion than the barroom. Approximately 75 per cent of Chicago's taverns have a room or space adjacent to the barroom. It is usually designated as the "cocktail lounge," the "family room," the "annex" or the "gardens." Many tavern owners are so intent in accommodating the unattached women and the young people that they place signs near the entrance to the backroom which state "For Women and Couples Only." We have mentioned improper illumination of taverns, but it should be stated at this point that the farther one goes into the majority of Chicago's taverns, the more feeble the illumination becomes, until by the time one reaches the cocktail lounge, the backroom or the annex he finds himself almost in semi-darkness. Many taverns, largely because of competition, offer entertainment to their patrons. The backroom again is put into use. Entertainers, many of them disreputable, are engaged to perform for the patrons. There is little or no restraint placed upon them. In some places they may "go the limit" and they often do. Nude or semi-nude dancing and profane and vulgar songs and jokes constitute their chief contribution to the entertainment of the patrons.

Since the legalization of the sale of liquor there has been a steady increase in the number of complaints received involving the employment of minors in taverns. Local newspapers have also indicated the increasing seriousness of this problem in recent publicity of a number of cases. Several tavern owners have been arrested, charged with contributing to the delinquency of minors. Why do tavern owners employ young girls? Probably the most important reason is the fact that young girls possess enthusiasm and vigor which act as a boon to the tavern trade. In many cases their services can also be secured with little expense to the tavern owner, since they are employed on a commission basis, and where a salary is paid it is usually negligible. The oversupply of taverns in Chicago makes competition keen. Every available means, even when it is in violation of the law, is pressed into use to stimulate tavern trade. Young girls are perhaps the best trade-stimulant available to the tavern owner. The "supply" is represented by 9,012 retail liquor establishments in Chicago. This means tremendous competition. Many tavern owners having difficulty making both ends meet find it easy and inexpensive to supply what the patrons demand. It entails little expense to install slot-machines, dice-games and other gambling devices and to enlist hostesses, waitresses and even entertainers who themselves, in many cases, are having a difficult struggle in making enough to keep body and soul together; they work on a commission basis to the advantage of the tavern owner. As to the prostitutes and unattached women who frequent many Chicago taverns, they also enhance the tavern trade, since they supply what a great many men are either looking for or have no aversion to when they meet it. So we find the patrons, somewhat deluded, looking for a "good time"; the tavern owner looking for a means of making money, and the hostesses, waitresses, waiters, bartender and other employees used as a means of supplying the demands and as special inducements where the demand is not so evident. Many women who frequent Chicago's taverns have no intention except to enjoy themselves. There are, however, a great many women and young girls, under economic, social or other pressures who cannot withstand the rigors involved in meeting their problems. It is this group that has suffered most from the evils and ills of the tavern.

Five hundred and thirty-nine taverns were observed wherein toilets, floors, bars, tables, etc., were unkempt and in an unsanitary condition, in violation of City Health ordinances. This is more especially true of taverns in some of our more disintegrated neighborhoods where the residents exist on a rather low economic level. Our investigations reveal, however, that taverns in some of the more prosperous communities operate under poor sanitary conditions. Glasses, and other equipment used by the public, are not properly cleansed. Patrons are allowed in some cases to expectorate on the floor.

Innumerable devices are put into operation by the tavern owner to draw patronage:—loud-speakers and "barkers" to attract the patrons from the street, mechanical devices for reporting baseball games, free

food, raffles of liquor and beer, bank-nights, amateur nights, floor shows. These are a few of the special inducements offered.

In three years the new taverns, which were to solve all the evils of pre-prohibition days, have become a combination of the old saloon, the restaurant, the dance hall, the gambling-center, indecent and cheap entertainment, the house of prostitution; and they openly and continuously violate the laws and ordinances which are supposed to control and regulate such places. The State of Illinois has enacted liquor-control laws which are adequately designed for the welfare and protection of the general public, the patrons of retail liquor establishments and the tavern operators. The undesirable, and in many cases deplorable, conditions which prevail in Chicago's taverns are due to laxity in law enforcement.

Cabarets

In the preceding pages of this chapter it has been brought out that retail liquor establishments attract a tremendous patronage not only because of the pleasure derived from the actual consumption of liquor, but also because of the varied opportunities for amusement and entertainment which are offered. The prohibition-era speakeasy often provided some kind of music—orchestra, radio or records. But following repeal the keen competition for business among liquor dealers whose establishments sold only liquor led to the widespread provision of space for dancing, first to radio music, and then as the battle for trade increased, to orchestras. Finally floor shows were also added. In many instances this latter "attraction" was made up of itinerant "artists" of a wide range in quality, who frequently worked in many establishments for whatever gratuities the patrons contributed. It was this sudden growth of the amusement features of taverns which created a problem; for they offered new and very real competition to many liquor establishments, which had existed as a class even before prohibition, whose appeal over many years had been in the entertainment which they provided with liquor and food served. This group, licensed as "public places of amusement," were required to pay fees ranging from five hundred to one thousand dollars, that is, five hundred dollars for this amusement license in addition to the liquor license, which was the only license paid by the tavern. To eliminate some of this tavern competition to the "cabaret" or "night club," as such places of public amusement are usually known, and at the same time not to reduce or discourage the employment of musicians in the taverns, the City Council amended the local liquor statute to provide that:

"Any person licensed under this article shall have the privilege, upon the payment of an additional fee of fifty dollars, of providing upon the licensed premises an orchestra of not to exceed three pieces and permitting dancing by patrons therein, *provided*, however, that no said entertainers other than the members of such orchestra shall be engaged or permitted to perform therein. Such license and privilege shall terminate upon the termination, for any cause, of the city retail license for the sale of alcoholic liquor."[1]

It will be observed that this definitely limited the entertainers to not more than a three-piece orchestra. In 1937, the first year in which this statute was operative, 324 licensed liquor establishments paid the additional $50.00 during the first half of the year and 280 in the last six months. This was a small percentage of the number of taverns which had provided not only orchestras but other entertainers in the year preceding when the field investigation of this phase of the study was completed. However, sample testing in several areas revealed orchestras in locations which did not have this license.

Of the 324 establishments licensed during the first half of 1937, half were located in 8 of the 75 community areas in the city. Thirty-nine, or 12.04 per cent of the total, were in retail liquor establishments in community area 28, with the majority on Madison Street. The near northwest side, community area 24, had 29 or 8.95 per cent of the total. The Uptown area, community area 3, and the near north side and Lincoln Park sections of the city included a relatively high number of establishments of this type, although there were many establishments with music and dancing in these sections which were not included in the license books at the City Clerk's office. Approximately $30,200 poured into the city treasury through this annual $100.00 fee.

The community areas may be grouped as follows according to the number of these licenses:

Community areas	*Number*
9, 10, 12, 13, 18, 34, 37, 38, 48, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 62, 64, 71, 72, 73, 75	none
1, 2, 4, 5, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 25,	

(*Continued on page 156*)

[1] *Chicago Council Proceedings*, Dec. 21, 1936, p. 2861, sec. 3143-N.

Community areas	*Number*
26, 29, 33, 35, 36, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 53, 60, 63, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 74	1-5
6, 21, 23, 30, 32, 42, 58, 61, 66	6-10
3, 8, 27	11-15
7, 22, 31	16-20
24, 28	over 20

The cabaret, night club, hotel dining-room with entertainment, and other similar establishments are old established institutions which existed long before the prohibition amendment was in force. Even the absence of legal liquor did not force these institutions out of the picture. In Chicago during the interim of prohibition the licensed "dry" cabaret was a prominent amusement establishment. In some instances the establishments were definitely "dry," in others "set-ups" were served, the patron providing his own liquor. In still another group liquor could be secured if one's credentials were satisfactory to the management. It was during this same period that the "roadhouse," another form of "cabaret," was given considerable impetus, as the automobile provided easy access to these establishments which were usually to be found in unincorporated districts of the county or in communities where the administration condoned or encouraged their existence.

A statistical study of cabarets covering their licenses during the four calendar years, 1934-1937, revealed that the following number were issued in each of the four years since repeal: 1934 (65); 1935 (50); 1936 (34); and 1937 (31). This total of 180 licenses represents 128 different addresses.

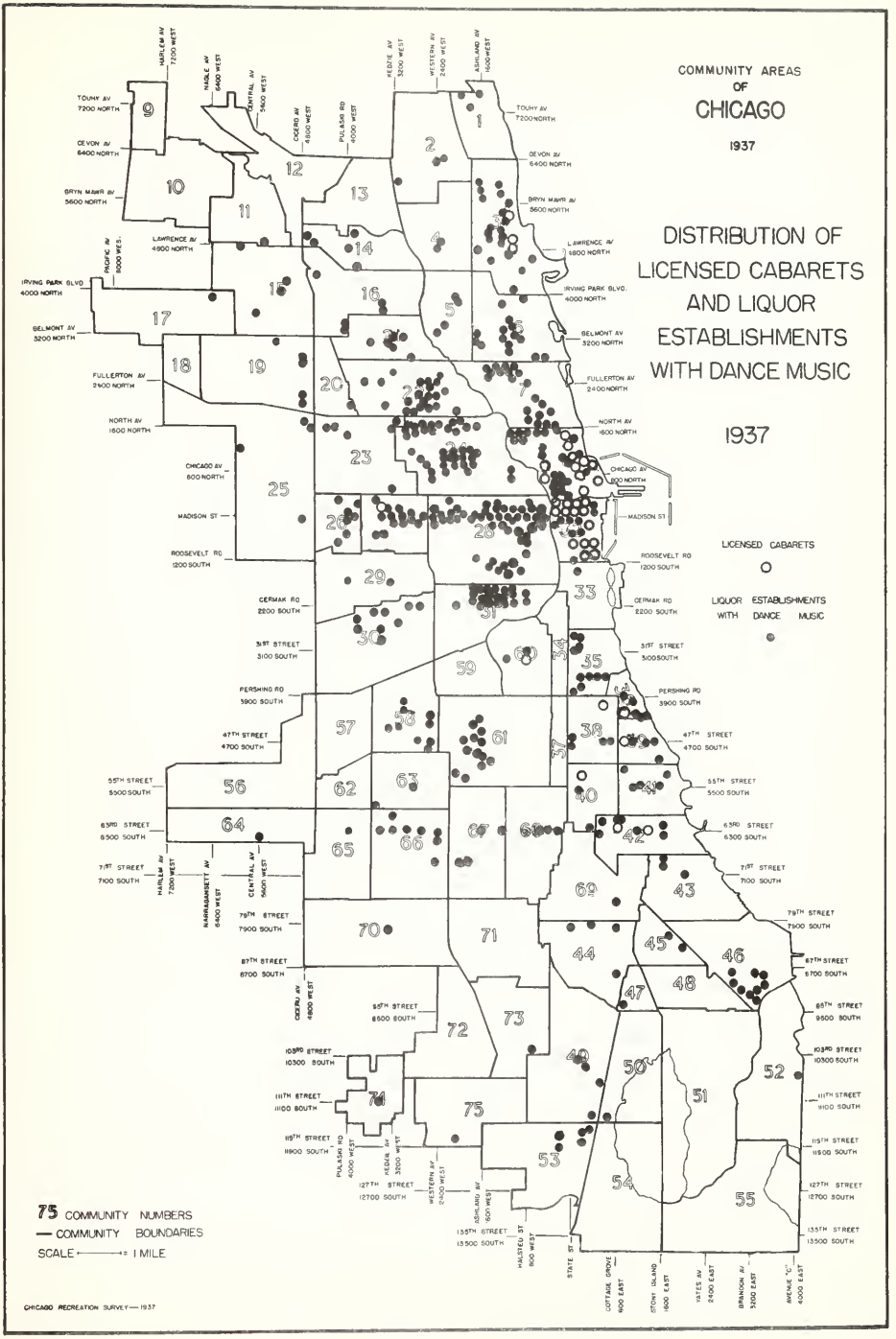
In 1935 licensed cabarets were located in twenty-two different community areas; during 1936 in ten; and during 1937 in eleven.

In the following table the licensed cabarets and aggregate square feet of floor space are listed by community areas. It will be noted that over half were located in area 8 in 1934, but that the Loop, area 32, led in the three other years.

Number of cabarets licensed in Chicago during 1934, 1935, 1936 and 1937 by community areas

Area	*1934*	*1935*	*1936*	*1937*
1	1 (2,380)	.. (....)	.. (....)	.. (....)
2	.. (....)	1 (1,270)	.. (....)	.. (....)
3	4 (6,700)	5 (15,430)	3 (10,870)	3 (11,830)
6	1 (1,035)	1 (2,400)	.. (....)	.. (....)
7	1 (1,204)	2 (2,375)	.. (....)	.. (....)
8	35 (49,827)	4 (10,960)	11 (20,543)	4 (11,623)
14	.. (....)	2 (2,004)	.. (....)	.. (....)
15	1 (2,350)	.. (....)	.. (....)	.. (....)
16	3 (4,473)	2 (3,920)	.. (....)	.. (....)
19	1 (1,158)	1 (1,168)	.. (....)	.. (....)
20	1 (2,338)	.. (....)	.. (....)	.. (....)
21	.. (....)	2 (2,352)	.. (....)	.. (....)
25	1 (1,680)	.. (....)	.. (....)	.. (....)
27	.. (....)	.. (....)	1 (2,400)	2 (4,800)
32	5 (13,584)	13 (52,488)	12 (54,482)	14 (64,037)
33	.. (....)	.. (....)	.. (....)	1 (2,400)
35	3 (5,404)	.. (....)	.. (....)	1 (1,500)
36	.. (....)	1 (2,400)	1 (2,400)	.. (....)
37	.. (....)	1 (900)	.. (....)	.. (....)
38	1 (2,200)	1 (3,644)	1 (3,644)	1 (2,378)
39	.. (....)	.. (....)	1 (1,200)	.. (....)
40	.. (....)	2 (3,613)	1 (2,400)	2 (5,758)
42	2 (5,106)	4 (8,300)	2 (4,760)	1 (2,400)
43	1 (1,240)	2 (3,540)	.. (....)	.. (....)
44	.. (....)	1 (1,000)	.. (....)	.. (....)
45	.. (....)	1 (1,700)	.. (....)	.. (....)
46	.. (....)	.. (....)	.. (....)	1 (980)
55	.. (....)	1 (1,004)	.. (....)	.. (....)
60	.. (....)	1 (1,485)	1 (1,485)	1 (1,485)
66	1 (1,337)	.. (....)	.. (....)	.. (....)
67	1 (2,031)	.. (....)	.. (....)	.. (....)
68	1 (1,180)	1 (1,400)	.. (....)	.. (....)
71	1 (2,360)	1 (2,360)	.. (....)	.. (....)
Total	65 (107,587)	50 (125,713)	34 (104,184)	31 (109,191)

Note: Numbers in parentheses indicate aggregate square feet.


COMMUNITY AREAS
OF
CHICAGO
1937
DISTRIBUTION OF
LICENSED CABARETS
AND LIQUOR
ESTABLISHMENTS
WITH DANCE MUSIC
1937
LICENSED CABARETS
LIQUOR ESTABLISHMENTS WITH DANCE MUSIC
75 COMMUNITY NUMBERS
— COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES
SCALE ⟵ ⟶ 1 MILE
CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY — 1937

The variation in number of establishments in these years is in part at least attributable to the fact that the license fee provisions of the statute have been amended on several occasions since 1933, the annual license fee and the square footage and seating capacities upon which the license rates are based all having been subjected to an upward revision.

The cabarets licensed in 1937 range in size from 980 to 11,000 square feet. A larger proportion of small cabarets were licensed in 1934 than in the three succeeding years; in 1934 the median size of 1,400 square feet obtained as compared with 2,310 in 1935, and 2,400 in 1936 and 1937. The average size for the four years increased as follows: from 1,655 square feet in 1934 to 2,514 in 1935, 3,064 in 1936, and 3,522 in 1937.

The following table shows the number and per cent of cabarets grouped according to floor space used in determining license fees in 1937:

	Number				*Per cent*			
Square feet		*1935*	*1936*	*1937*	*1934*	*1935*	*1936*	*1937*
2400 and under....	60	38	21	17	92.31	76.00	61.76	54.84
2401 - 4000	4	5	5	5	6.15	10.00	14.71	16.13
4001 - 6400	1	5	5	5	1.54	10.00	14.71	16.13
6401 - 7500	..	1	2	3	....	2.00	5.88	9.68
Over 7500	..	1	1	1	....	2.00	2.94	3.22
	65	50	34	31	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Prior to 1937, fees were based on the five above floor space classifications as follows: $375.00; $500.00; $625.00; $750.00; and $1,000.00. Receipts for the lowest group amounted to 60.3 per cent of the total in 1935 and 42.3 per cent in 1936. The next largest group, from 4,001 to 6,400 square feet, paid 13.5 per cent of the total in 1935 and 25.8 per cent in 1936.

Beginning with 1937, the $375.00 rate was eliminated, and each bracket was advanced one grade, to a maximum of $1,500.00 for floors exceeding 7,500 square feet. Two cabarets in 1937 paid the highest rate; one paid $1,000.00; six each the $750.00 and $625.00 rates; and 16 the minimum of $500.00. Sixteen cabarets paid full-year fees, and fifteen took out only six-month licenses. Total fees amounted to $14,875.00 during 1937.

Twelve of the cabaret type of establishments licensed in 1937 were located in hotels, being either dining-rooms in which music and other entertainment were provided or special night clubs or cabarets operated either by the hotel itself or concessionaires. As is already observable in the table listing the distribution, the majority of the remainder are located in areas which have long been regarded as centers of Chicago's life, the near north side in particular having many establishments open solely as cabarets. There is a wide range in the types of entertainment provided at these various places; some of the hotels specialize in what is regarded as the more sophisticated type of amusement, while many of the better known night clubs present outstanding theatrical attractions from all over the country together with elaborate floor shows featuring well-trained choruses. The music in these locations is usually provided by well-known "name" bands. In addition to newspaper and magazine advertising these cabarets frequently add to their prominence by broadcasting their dance music. Many of the other establishments provide wide varieties of entertainment, often including the acts which appear simultaneously at one of the city's more prominent burlesque houses. Strip shows of one kind or another and exotic dances have often been prominent in the entertainment provided in many of these cabarets.

Frequently no admission charge is made, the cost of the entertainment being included as part of the bill for liquor and food. However, in those entertainment provided in many of these cabarets. the more outstanding entertainment attractions either a minimum charge is made or, as an alternative, what is known as a cover charge is assessed. Cabarets have long been a source of federal revenue, being included in those enterprises against which "war taxes and luxury taxes" are assessed. The following provision of the Revenue Act of 1926 now covers admission charges at cabarets, roof gardens and simliar establishments. It will

be observed that provision is made for determining the amount regarded as admission charges in instances where no separate amount is paid.

"A tax of 1½ cents for each ten cents or fraction thereof of the amount paid for admission to any public performance for profit at any roof garden, cabaret, or other similar entertainment, to which the charge for admission is wholly or in part included in the price paid for refreshment, service, or merchandise; the amount paid for such admission to be deemed to be 20 per centum of the amount paid for refreshment, service, and merchandise; such tax to be paid by the person paying for such refreshment, service, or merchandise. Where the amount paid for admission is 50 cents or less, no tax shall be imposed."[1]

In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1937, the total amount of tax derived by the Department of Internal Revenue from this source in the first Illinois District, including 26 cities, was $186,926.72. This represents an expenditure in cabarets and night clubs in the district of approximately $5,630,000.00. However, inasmuch as the tax only applies where admission charges are 50 cents or more, and a $2.50 minimum expenditure is required for the 20 per cent regarded as admission to approximate the 50-cent minimum, this sum cannot be regarded as an indication of the total expenditures in night clubs. Moreover, the fact that all establishments included are not within the city of Chicago precludes the possibility of relating this information more definitely to the city. Cabarets and night clubs are licensed under the following city ordinances[2]:

Sec. 1908. Public place of amusement defined.) The term "public place of amusement," as used in this article, shall be construed to include and to mean any building, hall, room, place or enclosure where food or drink is served to which the general public may be admitted, either with or without the payment of a charge or admission fee, where such public may engage in or witness the performance of any theatrical entertainment, exhibition, show, amusement, dance, skating, or entertainment other than musical, *Provided,* however, that a place licensed for the sale of alcoholic liquors at retail where an orchestra of not more than three pieces is maintained for the entertainment of or dancing by patrons, and where no other entertainment, exhibition, show or amusement is conducted, shall not be considered as a public place of amusement.

Sec. 1909. License required—application for license —special requirements.) No person, firm or corporation shall manage, conduct, operate or carry on a public place of amusement without first having obtained a license therefor. The application for such license for the business of managing, conducting, operating or carrying on a public place of amusement shall conform to the general provisions of this ordinance relating to applications for licenses, and shall specify the location of the building or place in which it is proposed to keep such public place of amusement, the number of square feet of floor area, and the seating capacity of such building or other place. Every such application shall be approved by the superintendent of police, the commissioner of buildings, the chief of the bureau of fire prevention, the commissioner of streets and electricity and the commissioner of health before a license shall be issued.

Sec. 1910. Frontage consents—approval before issuance of license.) No license shall be granted to any person, firm or corporation either as owner, lessee, manager, officer or agent to conduct a public place of amusement in the city in any block in which two-thirds of the buildings on both sides of the street are used exclusively for residence purposes, without the written consent of a majority of the property owners according to frontage on both sides of the streets surrounding the block in which it is proposed to conduct said public place of amusement. If the place at which it is desired to conduct, produce, present, operate or offer a public place of amusement be not a fit or proper place, and not constructed, maintained, operated or conducted in accordance with the provisions of the ordinances of the city governing and controlling said places; or if the amusement or entertainment desired to be produced or offered be of an immoral or dangerous character; or if the person making application for a license be not of good moral character; the mayor may refuse to approve such application, and no license shall be issued by the city clerk except upon the approval of the mayor.

Sec. 1911. Graded license fee.) The annual license fee for each public place of amusement shall be graded according to size and capacity as follows:

Where such place has a floor space not exceeding 2,400 square feet and seating capacity not exceeding 300 persons, the annual license fee shall be five hundred dollars; the next larger grade, with floor space not exceeding 4,000 square feet and seating capacity not exceeding 500 persons, six hundred and twenty-five dollars; the next larger grade, with floor space not exceeding 6,400 square feet and seating capacity not exceeding 800 persons, seven hundred and fifty dollars; the next larger grade, with floor space not exceeding 7,500 square feet and seating capacity not exceeding 1,000 persons, one thousand dollars; the next larger grade, with floor space exceeding 7,500 square feet and seating capacity exceeding 1,000 persons, one thousand and five hundred dollars.

In computing floor space for the purposes hereof, all space used for entertainment or refreshment purposes, all aisle space, space between walls, and the partitions of such space, together with all balcony space, shall be computed.

[1] U. S. Treasury Dept. Bureau of Internal Revenue, *Regulations Relating to the Taxes on Admissions, Dues and Initiation Fees under the Revenue Act of 1926 as amended by the Revenue Acts of 1928 and 1932,* U. S. Government Printing Office.

[2] *Revised Chicago Code,* 1931, ch. 36, sec. 1908-1914, as amended.

Sec. 1912. License periods.) If, at the time of the application for a license under the provisions of this article, less than three months of the current license year shall have expired, the applicant for a license shall be required to pay the full annual license fee hereinbefore fixed; if three months or more, but less than six months shall have expired, the applicant shall be required to pay three-fourths of the annual fee; if six months or more, but less than nine months of current license year shall have expired, the applicant shall be required to pay one-half of the annual license fee; if nine months or more of the current license year shall have expired, the applicant shall be required to pay one-fourth of the annual license fee hereinbefore fixed; and no license hereunder shall be issued for a less sum than one-fourth of the annual license fee.

Every license for a public place of amusement issued under the provisions of this article shall expire on the 31st day of December after its issuance, and the license fees herein fixed shall be the annual license fees payable in advance before the issuance of the same; provided, however, that such license may issue for a semi-annual period which shall expire either on the 30th day of June or on the 31st day of December following the date of its issuance, upon the payment of one-half the annual license fee.

Sec. 1914. Penalty.) Any person, firm or corporation that shall violate any of the provisions of this article shall be fined not less than ten dollars nor more than two hundred dollars for each offense, and each day such violation continues shall be regarded as a separate offense. The mayor is hereby authorized, in case any person, firm or corporation licensed under the terms of this article shall violate any of the provisions of this article, or shall violate any of the general ordinances of the city of Chicago or laws of the state of Illinois relating to the conduct of such places, or upon the request of the commissioner of police or of the city council in case he or it shall find that such place of amusement is improperly conducted, to revoke any such license issued hereunder.

In addition to ordinances regarding theatrical entertainment, some provisions of which also apply to the attractions presented in cabarets and night clubs, the following provision of the general theater and amusement statutes applies to both the cabaret and to the tavern which has also been licensed for dancing.

"No person, firm or corporation either as owner, lessee, manager, officer or agent of a restaurant or public place of refreshment, whether an admission fee is charged or not, shall give, conduct, produce, present or offer any cabaret, or other similar entertainment therein, wherein any entertainers shall perform their acts by mingling with the audience or traveling about among them.

"Any person, firm or corporation that shall violate any of the provisions of this section shall be fined not less than five dollars nor more than one hundred dollars for each offense, and a separate offense shall be regarded as committed each day such violation continues."[1]

It is a matter of common observation that in many establishments entertainment of this prohibited type is presented. It may be said in general, that because of the amount invested and also because the type of patronage attracted to this type of establishment demands a higher quality of entertainment, the licensed cabaret or night club is usually regarded as manifesting fewer unsocial features than attach to the tavern, for the latter provides more informal contacts and consequently affords more opportunity for practices contrary to public decency.

During 1937 it was observed that many retail liquor establishments having neither cabaret nor music and dancing licenses either offered or actually provided attractions of these types and advertised such entertainment in the various metropolitan Chicago newspapers.

[1] *Revised Chicago Code*, 1931, ch. 36, art. 1, sec. 1903.

CHAPTER XIX

COMMERCIALIZED VICE

It has already been made clear that in this recreation study, with its limited set-up and staff, it would be impossible to go exhaustively into such a subject as commercialized vice. Nevertheless some facts and some fairly reliable estimates as to volume of business, income, distribution of centers, effect of the depression, and the like may be included. Most of these materials have been furnished by outside agencies and were not collected by the Survey staff itself.

Professor Reckless in his study of vice in Chicago, made about the beginning of the present decade, came to certain conclusions which bear on the general problem of recreation. Outside the realm of syndicated brothels, he found there had been a tendency toward the decline of brothel prostitution. Unorganized prostitution outside of brothels had developed in flats and apartments of Chicago's decentralized areas. The operation of these places conformed to the trend away from brothel exploitation. But these places, despite the admirable activities of the Committee of Fifteen, had all too frequently succeeded in evading the Injunction and Abatement Law, by using slum property. Cab-running for flats or other resorts was not very prevalent. Streetwalking had become much less obvious. Dance halls were practically free from prostitutes and solicitation for commercialized vice, and taxi-dance halls were not agencies for the exploiting of prostitution.[1]

How far are these conclusions tenable in the year 1938? Other chapters of this Volume seem to make it clear that some dance halls, taxi-dance halls and taverns are by no means free from condoning or promoting commercialized vice, directly or indirectly. A memorandum specially prepared by Jesse A. Jacobs, director of the Committee of Fifteen, bears out this statement and goes much further into other ramifications of this form of border-line recreation.

"Prostitution," according to this memorandum, "might be considered in four main aspects: (1) The large, organized houses, which well deserve the term 'vice resort.' These are often operated in chain fashion, involving a large number of participating agents, and a considerable overhead. They travel 'light enough,' however, to change locations rapidly whenever pressure is brought to bear. This type of resort is one which usually involves a chain of influences, including police, physicians, attorneys, bondsmen, landlords, taxicab drivers, procurers, ropers, madames, etc. (2) The smaller ones, involving two or three women who operate with a minimum of alliances with other agents. (3) The expensive 'call flats,' organized to furnish women on call, for purposes of prostitution. A large outlay of money is necessary for this type of resort, which probably represents a growing phase of the business of commercialized prostitution. (4) The street solicitor and individual workers, including not only those who give all their time to prostitution but also those who, for economic purposes or other reasons, carry on this illicit practice in addition to regular employment or family duties. Prostitution is also found as an adjunct to taverns, taxi-dance halls, burlesques, and other forms of commercialized recreation.

"Non-commercial, unconventional conduct is very much on the increase. During 1936, the Committee of Fifteen made a survey of conditions which frequently entangle young women in conduct damaging to them. Investigators found a practice somewhat similar to hitch-hiking on the country highway. They found that young women, between 18 and 25 years of age, frequently accosted them for a ride, a trip to the movies, a visit to a tavern, a 'lift' to some other part of the city, or to 'make a date for a later time.' These young people appeared eager for someone to talk to, even though it involved making such requests of utter strangers. Various reasons were given: some had quarreled with parents, others with a lover or friend; some were on a day off from the office; others were merely roaming the neighborhood. A large number frankly stated that they were grappling with personal problems or were just lonely and desired 'someone to talk with them.' At least

[1] W. C. Reckless, *Vice in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933).

one-third of these young people really desired nothing more than companionship. This sincere and genuine desire is the basis for many of the notorious marriage rackets, taxi-dance halls, taverns, night clubs, and other forms of commercialized recreation. It is through such contacts that hundreds of women take their first fling at sex irregularity, graduate to full-fledged prostitution, and by the age of 25 or 30 are confirmed inmates of commercial vice resorts. Unexplained is the noticeable decrease in such unconventional solicitations for male companionship during the past year, a decrease estimated by one investigator to be as high as fifty per cent.

"In deteriorated neighborhoods, particularly in colored areas, commercialized prostitution increased noticeably during the depression. During periods of crisis in relief-fund distribution, when allocations to individual families were insufficient, there was as much as twenty per cent increase in commercialized prostitution in some areas. Following adjustment of relief budgets, this activity would take a prompt drop. Investigators who have been with the Committee of Fifteen over a long period of time have found less prostitution at the present writing (February, 1938) in these colored areas and, for that matter, in all areas of the city, than has been true at any time in the past fifteen years. In these groups occupying such deteriorated areas, one can point to the economic factor as causal more than is possible in situations in which other elements than the purely economic enter.

"On the whole, prostitution in its commercialized expression is less flagrant and less organized than it has been in previous years. The trend is downward. This status continues in Chicago so long as there are a more or less constant surveillance and systematic pressure by law-enforcement groups backed by neighborhood opinion and support. It readily assumes the proportions of a racket and 'big business' as soon as this pressure is relieved. Last summer a rapidly moving program was launched, involving seventeen raids made within a few hours by twenty-five especially selected young policemen. As a result the backbone of organized prostitution in Chicago was temporarily broken. Certain districts—the near west side, the near north side, the Lakeside district on Broadway, the near south side, and South Chicago—have been in the past, and are still, spots of highest concentration of commercialized prostitution. A heavy overflow to the suburban sectors in the county occurs when pressure is brought against the resorts in the city.

"There is an ebb and flow in volume and amount of money, determined by the pressure in other cities and by local awareness of the problem. Prostitution, even as operated in Chicago, is still a very big business. A conservative estimate would be a total of $10,000,000 a year, exclusive of much other income which might be classified as coming from prostitution, and of income from taverns, taxi-dance halls, amusement places, where prostitution is practiced in a free-lance manner, or as an adjunct to one of these large enterprises.

"Of the 400 resorts which may be operating at any one time in Chicago, it may be estimated that the 100 large places, having five or more inmates, average an income of $3,000,000 a year; that the medium-sized resorts, having from two to four inmates, perhaps totaling 2,500 individuals, average $5,000,000 a year; and that the individual street solicitors and workers, totaling perhaps 1,500, gross an income of $2,000,000. This assumption would be based on an estimated total of 5,000 prostitutes working in Chicago at any one time."

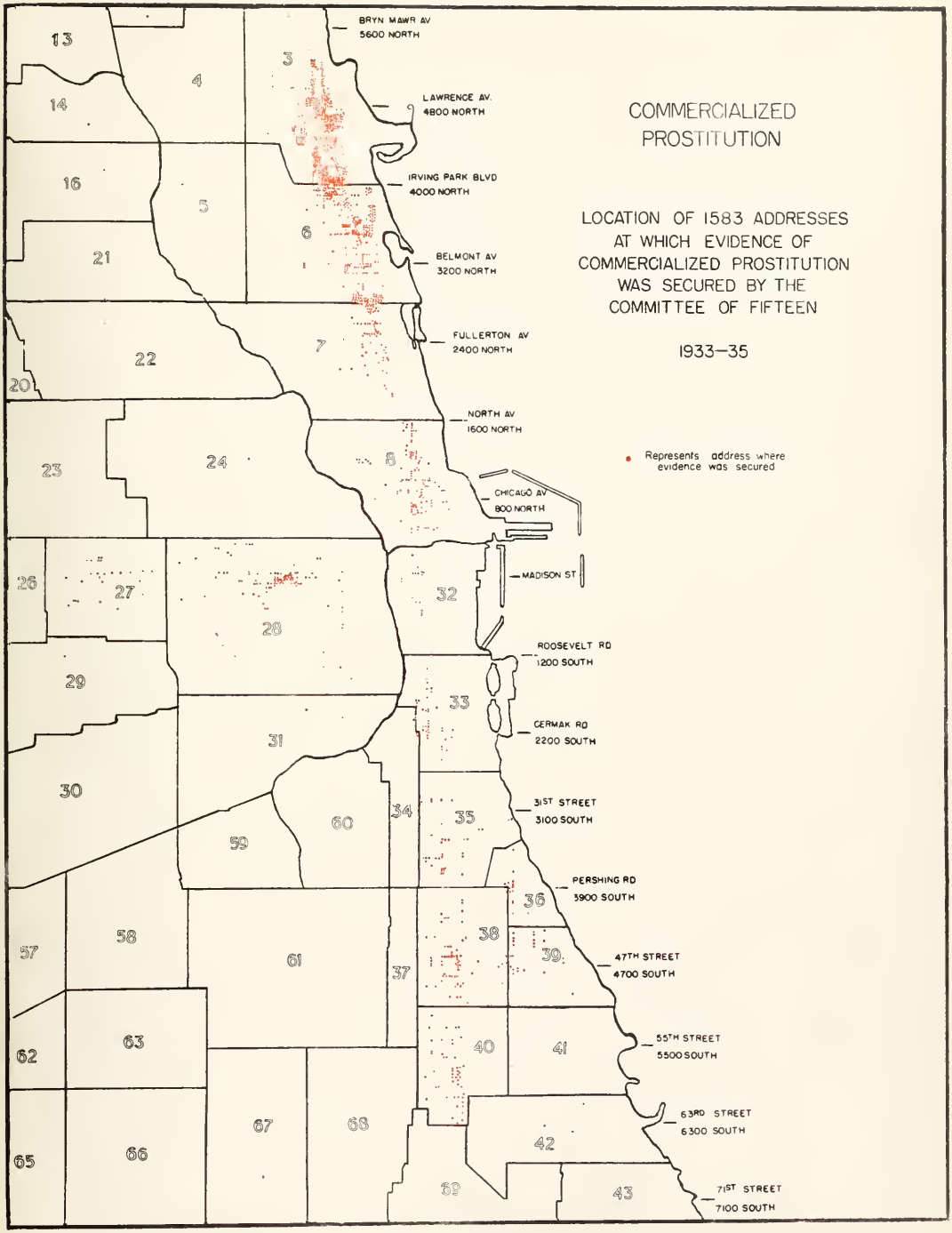
Notwithstanding the apparent fact that commercialized prostitution is more nearly under control in Chicago than in many other cities, the cost of sexual vice in Chicago is by no means inconsiderable. The figures for actual expenditures given out by the Committee of Fifteen are almost ultra-conservative. In all probability they could be nearly doubled and still not err far from actuality. From the standpoint of a sound recreational policy for the city, however, it is necessary to add to these figures the enormous cost of lost employment and irregular employment through various forms of sickness connected with venereal disease, the cost of medical care for venereal cases, the cost of drugs, contraceptive devices, and losses in property damage (estimated at approximately $11,000,000 a year in Chicago). Undoubtedly the outlay for these dubious forms of amusement equals and perhaps even overtops the total expenditures for all forms of public recreation in this city. Hence sane recreation is not to be obtained merely by piling appropriation upon appropriation, but by stopping up some of the channels of wasted resources.

Conditions have undoubtedly improved since the flagrant wide-open days of twenty-five years ago. From the 3,500 houses of prostitution, operating in 1913, scarcely 400 are now in active operation at any one time, and these are rather the smaller, more insecure types and much poorer in prestige and finances. Nevertheless ceaseless vigilance is

required to keep the traffic from over-running the city. Thus in 1935 the Committee of Fifteen was instrumental in closing 438 resorts, and 441 in 1936.

But mere repressive activities by police or social welfare agencies will not wipe out commercialized sexual vice. Something more positive and constructive must be invoked to raise the general level of recreational taste and improve the general sexual code before the wastes of prostitution may be reclaimed to more wholesome uses. This is particularly true at the moment when competent observers express some doubt as to whether prostitution has really declined, on the theory that while the patronage of professional prostitutes may have been cut down, the reduction was due in part at least to competition of "amateurs" young and old, operating under cover of a widespread loosening of conventional sex mores. Only a regenerative dynamic moral education can reach the basis of this misplaced recreational interest which follows the principle of "anything goes" and "I am going to get what I want in any way I can."

But again, mere moral indignation or the appeal to character education fails to suffice. If it is true that "Red lights burn brightest in deteriorated and neglected neighborhoods," the problem of commercialized vice transcends the realm of police administration or moral crusades. It is a matter of general knowledge that most vice resorts operate in social swamps, areas showing the highest indices of social disorganization. In Chicago commercialized vice is concentrated and thrives in certain areas known to every health and social welfare worker. The accompanying map shows these plague spots, such as South State Street, North Clark Street, West Madison Street, Uptown (Wilson Avenue District) and the south side negro areas. These vice areas correlate more or less closely with those described in other chapters of this report as centers of taverns, dance halls, and the like. But their full significance comes to light only by the addition of other social facts from those areas, facts of congested housing, juvenile delinquency, under-employment and social insecurity. Irrational recreation, therefore, can only be attacked by an enveloping strategy of raising the whole level of community well-being. Thus we reach the significant conclusion that planning a city's recreation including such controls as may apply to commercial recreation can only be attained as it becomes an integrated part of comprehensive planning for the totality of a city's living conditions.


COMMERCIALIZED PROSTITUTION
LOCATION OF 1583 ADDRESSES AT WHICH EVIDENCE OF COMMERCIALIZED PROSTITUTION WAS SECURED BY THE COMMITTEE OF FIFTEEN
1933–35
Represents address where evidence was secured
BRYN MAWR AV 5600 NORTH
LAWRENCE AV. 4800 NORTH
IRVING PARK BLVD 4000 NORTH
BELMONT AV 3200 NORTH
FULLERTON AV 2400 NORTH
NORTH AV 1600 NORTH
CHICAGO AV 800 NORTH
MADISON ST
ROOSEVELT RD 1200 SOUTH
CERMAK RD 2200 SOUTH
31ST STREET 3100 SOUTH
PERSHING RD 3900 SOUTH
47TH STREET 4700 SOUTH
55TH STREET 5500 SOUTH
63RD STREET 6300 SOUTH
71ST STREET 7100 SOUTH
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